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Hungary's Antall Meets Warsaw Pact Ministers

LD0411201190 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 4 (MTI)—After the signing of the arms reduction agreement between the six Warsaw treaty countries, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall met the foreign ministers of the countries concerned. He stressed that the government invariabably aspired to maintain stable, good relations with all the five states, and reach an honest compromise with neighbours involved in issues of dispute. The common task for the future will be to place fruitful multilateral co-operation on a bilateral basis. By joining the Council of Europe in a matter of days, Hungary will adopt a system of norms which it has made the basis of relations with other countries as well, Antall said.

Speaking on behalf of the other five countries, Polish Foreign Minister Krysztof Skubiszewski calls for developing bilateral relations and initial forms of regional co-operation.

In this context, Jozsef Antall pointed out [words indistinct] the Hungarian Government that all countries abreast of the high requirements of the Council of Europe should be accepted as members as soon as possible.

Jozsef Antall met Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, head of the Soviet delegation to the Warsaw treaty foreign ministerial conference, in the prime minister's office in the parliament building. He said the Hungarian Government considers it a major task to create a correct and realistic bilateral relationship of an entirely novel character with her largest neighbour. Considering the course of the internal transformation of the Soviet Union, an important role is assigned to establishing bilateral contacts with some regions or republics.

Antall confirmed the invitation of Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze for a visit to Budapest, and Kvitsinskiy stated that the Soviet side expects the Hungarian prime minister in Moscow at the earliest opportunity.

Jozsef Antall also met Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who conveyed the cordial greetings from Prime Minister Mazowieczki. Discussions were held on the possibility for Poland to participate in the Pentagonale co-operation scheme of Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. The sides took a stand for Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary to co-ordinate Western economic assistance with joint effort.

Hungarian Chief of Staff Happy With Arms Level

LD0411133790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0735 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Interview with Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, Hungarian chief of staff, and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Kvitsinskiy by correspondent Istvan Kulcsar in Budapest on 3 November—from the "World Clock" program; passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Representatives of the member states of the Warsaw Pact signed an important document on Saturday. After the festive ceremony, Istvan Kulcsar interviewed several of the participants.

[Kulcsar] I asked Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, chief of staff, the following question: The ceilings have now been established for the armed forces of Eastern European countries—i.e., how many tanks, artillery batteries, and other traditional weapons they can have. Is this reassuring for Hungary from the aspect of having sufficient armaments remaining to repel a potential attack, or due to the fact that what remains in our neighboring countries is not disproportionately large?

[Borsits] *I can say frankly and with respect that this agreement ensures the retention of a sufficient quantity of force and means, and it stands the test of comparison with neighboring countries in a far-reaching way. If we look at the previous levels which we promulgated in January 1989—figures which are available to us—in comparison to that, the ratios will greatly improve in our favor.*

[Kulcsar] On behalf of the Soviet Union, alongside the chief of staff, it was Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Kvitsinskiy who signed the agreement rather than Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who, it was said, could not come to Budapest because of business at home. In view of the Soviet domestic situation, this was understood by everyone. I have asked Deputy Foreign Minister Kvitsinskiy about the future of the Warsaw Pact.

[Kvitsinskiy in Russian, with Kulcsar translating into Hungarian] *This depends on the way the members of the Pact shape this future. As for the military organization, we agreed in Moscow in June to gradually eliminate the military structures simultaneously with the evolution of the all-European security and stability structures. We shall decide, on the basis of the agreement by all participants, on the process of the elimination of these structures at the individual institutions. The political life of the Warsaw Pact will change in the same way as did the entire European situation. We shall place greater emphasis on consultations and political cooperation, and this cooperation will last in this or that new form as long as it is necessary. As to who will leave the military organization first—who wins in this respect—this is all pure speculation. Perhaps no one will win. In any case, we shall give the practical answer at the next session of the Political Consultative Council of the Warsaw Pact.*

[Kulcsar] Will this session which was originally scheduled for Budapest this weekend, but which was postponed, take place this year? I asked the Soviet deputy foreign minister.

[Kritsinskiy] *The date has not yet been determined.*

Foreign Ministry Declaration on Hostages in Iraq

AU0511203090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] The Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has disseminated the following official information received from Baghdad:

On 3 November the National Assembly of Iraq adopted by a great majority, and with 25 dissenting votes, the following decision:

1. The Bulgarian guests are allowed to depart for their motherland, or stay in Iraq, according to their wish.

2. The stay of Bulgarian guests working at unfinished projects is prolonged until they complete their work. Their departure after the completion of their work will be allowed according to the agreement with the Bulgarian vice president.

At the moment, the Bulgarian Embassy in Baghdad is negotiating with the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the precise number of Bulgarians who will be allowed to leave the country. The embassy has been instructed to decisively demand that the local authorities allow the departure from Iraq not only of those workers whose labor contracts have expired, but also those Bulgarian citizens who wish to do so and whose stay in Iraq is unnecessary for completing the projects, as was published in the coordinated announcement for the press, disseminated on 25 October 1990, after the visit of Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev to Iraq.

In addition, Bulgaria demands that all sick and old people, women and youths above 18 years [as heard], as well as the entire group of Bulgarians who arrived in Baghdad from Kuwait, be allowed to leave Iraq. The embassy is coordinating with the competent local authorities the technical details related to the immediate implementation of the evacuation. After determining the timetable, additional information will be released for the mass media.

Foreign Minister Gotsev in Rome; Received by Pope

AU0511173590 Sofia BTA in English 1541 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 5 Nov (BTA correspondent)—His Holiness Pope John Paul II, head of the Roman Catholic Church, today received in a private audience Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, who is paying a working visit to Rome.

The guest conveyed to the Holy Father greetings from the President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev and the Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov, wishing him every success in his noble work. Pope John Paul II wished the Bulgarian leader fruitful work and prosperity to the Bulgarian people. The sides surveyed bilateral relations and expressed satisfaction with their continued progress. The prospects for their enhancement in the cultural and religious field were outlined. Another point under discussion was the early establishment of diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and the Holy See.

Mr. Lyuben Gotsev was also received by His Eminence Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, secretary of state of the Vatican. They specified in detail the prospects for wider contacts between the Vatican and Bulgaria which were outlined in the audience with the pontiff.

Addresses European Council Meeting

AU0611215890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] On 5 November in Rome a festive meeting of the European Council took place, at which the 40th anniversary of adopting the European Human Rights Convention was marked. Lyuben Gotsev, Bulgarian foreign minister, took part in the meeting.

In his speech he pointed out that Bulgaria is consistently and irreversibly marching toward democracy, regardless of all difficulties.

Later on Lyuben Gotsev met with Gerard Collins, his Irish counterpart. The possibilities for expanding bilateral cooperation were discussed.

Lyuben Gotsev invited his Irish counterpart to visit Bulgaria at a time suitable for him. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

Police Hunt Former GDR Intelligence Chief Wolf

AU0611110490 Sofia BTA in English 1038 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 5 Nov (BTA)—In reply to a request the Bulgarian police has launched an operation to establish the alleged whereabouts of Markus Wolf, the former head of the Hauptverwaltung Aufklaerung (HVA) [Main Administration for Intelligence Collection] of the former German Democratic Republic. The preliminary checks made so far have not confirmed the version that Wolf is staying on the territory of Bulgaria, a competent source at the Ministry of Internal Affairs told the BTA.

The tracing operation continues.

Students' Demands Published, Sit-In Organized

AU0511201190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] On 5 November at Sofia University a meeting of the students' strike committees throughout the country took place. Afterward a meeting took place with the students of Sofia's Kliment Okhridski University, at which a declaration of the strike committees was discussed. The declaration contains the students' demands, among them, the demand that the government guarantee the minimum level of existence and the receipt of the stipends that have not been received so far; that it ensure places in the dormitories for the students who still have

not solved their housing problem and financial compensation for the students who have rented rooms. In addition, the students demand the increase of their quota on the academic council.

The political demands of the students are expressed in the memorandum of 25 October. They include the nationalization of the Bulgarian Socialist Party's property; and admission on the party of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party on the guilt for the socioeconomic, political, and moral crisis in which the people find themselves; and an immediate publication of the names of the informers of the former State Security in the academic community.

At the meeting at Sofia's Kliment Okhridski University it was decided to begin immediate actions for organizing a sit-in.

Until now the students' demands have been supported by the Alternative Socialist Party, "Reform" Club, and the "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation.

Unions Demand Lukanov Resignation

AU0511213590 Sofia BTA in English 2114 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 5 Nov (BTA)—At 11 p.m. this evening the students will occupy Sofia University, the representatives of 19 Strike Committees from all over the country decided today. The sit-in strikers will raise political and trade-union demands.

On October 25 the students issued a memorandum demanding that the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] accept its guilt, that the BSP property be nationalized, that it revert to the state the subsidies it had been receiving since 1947, and that the former members of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the individuals involved in the ethnic Turks' forced assimilation, the ecocide [as received] of Ruse, the effects of Chernobyl and the waste of billions of leva be held criminally liable. These demands have not been met. In addition, the students want better hostel conditions, grant rises and better representation in the college councils.

The protesting students have been joined by former trainees of the State Security school in Simeonovo.

The students described their meeting at the BSP Supreme Council on Friday as "ludicrous".

At the meeting demands were raised several times for the immediate resignation of the Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov. The students believe that their strike will spark genuine change.

Their demands were supported by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation and the Alternative Socialist Party.

In the main evening TV newscast "Around the World and in This Country", Mr. Pencho Penev, minister of internal affairs, called on the students to reconsider their decision. Mr. Penev believes that it can lead to "undesirable political consequences." In his view, the strike may undermine the efforts of parliament and the government to achieve public consensus. The ministry had information that some students did not want to strike and clashes were likely. "Only few political forces would support this demonstration," the minister said.

A month-long students sit-in strike brought down the former president, Mr. Petur Mladenov.

A report from the major Petrochemical Works in Burgas, aired in the same newscast, workers gave Mr. Lukanov's government three days to resign. Workers from Yambol also want the cabinet's resignation.

TU Confederation Position on Cabinet Crisis

AU0511195090 Sofia BTA in English 1838 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 5 Nov (BTA)—The Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions declared itself in favor of a strong coalition government dominated by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), which would be in a position to carry out reforms, Radio Sofia reported, quoting a trade union document.

The leadership of the Trade Union Confederation did not commit itself to a preference for the political force which should provide a prime minister but believes that the SDS should have a dominant influence in the implementation of the political, law and economic reform.

The formation of a coalition government, for which the confederation has urged before, too, will be a historic compromise, as its leadership sees it. The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, which is one of the two major trade union organizations in Bulgaria, will insist that the SDS (now in opposition) pledge that it will not launch a "witch-hunt" and that the BSP (the successor of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the majority party in parliament) take a clear stand on the guilt for the national catastrophe.

It is evident from the stand of the confederation's Executive Committee that it relies on the moderate wing in the SDS, the radicals in the BSP and the influence of President Zhelyu Zhelev, the former opposition leader, to reach this compromise.

According to the confederation's leadership, new elections in Bulgaria are undesirable now and the delay in the formation of a government is dangerous.

The other major trade union confederation, Podkrepa, claims that a coalition government involving the BSP would be immoral but said it would not intervene in the settlement of the cabinet crisis. Podkrepa was affiliated to the SDS and now it has an observer status in the coalition of opposition parties and movements.

Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, the BSP leader, said at a meeting in the city of Varna that the BSP would welcome a

coalition government, the Bulgarian Television reported this evening without elaborating.

Ganev Denies Negotiations With BSP on Coalition

AU0511195690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] We do not have the constitutional right to question the legitimacy of Andrey Lukanov's government, Stoyan Ganev, spokesman of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], said at today's news conference, and added: This government is responsible for the executive power, and it has the right to implement its policy through that power. If the government is not able to implement its power, does not obtain the support of the trade unions, and it itself abdicates, so to speak, we are ready to assume responsibility for governing the country.

At the news conference it was denied that official talks have been conducted with representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] on the issue of forming a government. In connection with the idea that the future government will be dominated by the SDS, it was pointed out that this will not be a coalition government with the BSP, but a government in which the SDS will have the key role, and whose program should be based on the SDS program. The responsibility for the implementation of the program must belong to the SDS. Representatives of the BSP could participate in this government if they accept our conditions categorically expressed in the position of the SDS parliamentary group, expressed on 21 September, and in the declaration read in the parliament by Aleksandur Yordanov, Stoyan Ganev said.

At the news conference it again was pointed out that the country will not be saved by the government, but by the parliament, and that Bulgaria will begin its salvation by the adoption of stable laws. For this, it is necessary to have a strong and active parliament, which will implement its legislative program by the end of the year, and will begin the work on the constitution draft.

BSP's Lilov on Party Transformation

AU0511195590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] The main task of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] now is to renew and change itself and turn into a modern leftist party, Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, said today at a news conference in Varna.

Replying to questions of journalists he spoke about the problems, difficulties, and dangers that future and democratic Bulgaria faces.

Afterward, the chairman of the BSP Supreme Council had a meeting with the Varna artistic intelligentsia. In the evening, at the local Palace of Culture and Sports he met with BSP members in supporters and Varna citizens.

BSP Deputy Chairman on Party's Role in Crisis

AU0611100890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Chavdar Kyuranov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), by Angel Bonev; place and date not given: "Certain Forces Want the BSP To Cease To Exist"]

[Text] [Bonev] Do you have the feeling that recently the situation in parliament has become more tense?

[Kyuranov] Yes, tension in parliament has increased, especially during the discussion of the draft law on depoliticization. The representatives of the opposition even left the National Assembly building. Their goal was to put pressure on the members of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

[Bonev] Aggressive parliamentarians. Is this a regular phenomenon?

[Kyuranov] Really, a group of people's representatives appeared in the National Assembly whose behavior can be described as aggressive. I am not thinking of their sharp tongues, irony, or even their sarcasm.

There are certain people's representatives who sometimes do not speak in order to persuade parliament to adopt a particular decision, but who address "listeners" outside the building, ready to continue the struggle afterward by illegal means. Those are the parliamentarians I call aggressive.

[Bonev] In other words, it is no coincidence that a part of the demands of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] almost immediately repeat the memorandums of organizations that are applying pressure from the streets.

[Kyuranov] There is synchronization, but this would not be irregular if it does not lead to illegal acts. However, such a danger is evident.

Sometimes, we, the BSP parliamentary group, are accused of exaggerating things. However, I think that the danger is real. For example, some major sociopolitical organizations have now announced that they will leave the SDS. The representatives of the SDS view this almost as an act aimed at weakening the union. I do not think so. When an organization of significant public influence leaves the SDS, this actually means a "division of labor."

The danger emerges immediately when the organization that "leaves" the SDS turns to manifestations that intensify social tension. This is something that could have very serious consequences under the conditions of empty stores, when even bread becomes a problem, as was recently the case in Sofia and other places. I do not play down the responsibility of the BSP and its government for the country's economic situation. I am not trying to gloss over the mistakes and deformations.

[Bonev] Do you think that because of those deformations the BSP could be pushed to the political periphery of society, and possibly, even destroyed as an organization?

[Kyuranov] Guilt always has a specific address. It is borne by the people who brought the country to the present crisis. However, certain forces insist that the entire party be sentenced. I am beginning to think that we are returning to the Middle Ages or to fascism, which revived the idea of collective guilt. It is dangerous to restore the renounced principle of "the end justifies the means" to our sociopolitical life.

The campaign for establishing the BSP's guilt has a clearly defined goal—not only to "remove" the party from power, but to end its existence.

[Bonev] Could not we say "let it be so?"

[Kyuranov] If we were cynics, we could say this, without being interested in the possible consequences of this renunciation of power on our part for our society. In addition, do we have the right to ignore the objective fact that, unlike in the case of some Eastern European countries, the BSP did not disintegrate? The party is renewing itself. It is paradoxical that people who have rapidly passed through the entire spectrum of political transformations are now denying the right of the BSP to fundamentally transform itself.

[Bonev] Is an attempt on the part of some forces to remove the BSP possible?

[Kyuranov] It is possible, but it could happen only through violence, illegality, and criminal action. If this is what they want, let them say so clearly and honestly, without hiding behind the phrases about collective guilt. It is very convenient to replace political responsibility for the mistakes with guilt. The BSP will do everything it possibly can to struggle against new illegal acts and new social tension.

[Bonev] Perhaps this indicates that the opposition is entering a new stage?

[Kyuranov] The opposition is already in a new stage. Significant dissatisfaction already exists among certain sociopolitical circles outside the BSP. These are mainly people with a more conservative understanding. They even conceived the idea of creating another opposition to struggle against the BSP, however, by using legal and democratic means. Those people see the SDS's shortcomings. I mean the Bourgeois Party, whose leaders stress the parliamentary means of struggle, notwithstanding the fact that formally, the party has no representatives in the National Assembly. We shall follow its development with interest.

The aggressiveness of the present opposition is a sign of serious internal contradictions. There are also contradictions in the BSP, but they are not such as a part of the opposition expected them to be. The party has not reached the stage of self-disintegration. Certain groups have left the party, but they have no influence over the present stage of the party's development. This is a period of renewal and change, albeit not as rapid as we would like it to be.

Radicals Urge Discredited BSP MP's To Resign

AU0611091290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 31 Oct 90 p 1

[Text] The Coordinating Council of the Movement for Radical Change in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] demands the resignations of certain BSP members of parliament, whose names will be published. The operating council has issued a declaration in this connection.

The BSP radicals demand that the people's deputies elected on the BSP proportional list who were connected with the top echelons of power in the state and the party during the totalitarian regime, and who bear political responsibility for the decisions which led the country into deep crisis, should submit their resignations and give up their seats to the next persons on the list. The radicals consider that the same thing should be done by those people's deputies who are heavily involved in economic and administrative activities and are therefore unable to properly carry out their work in the Grand National Assembly.

The list of people's deputies on the proportional list who, in the Radicals' view, should give up their seats in parliament will be published during the next few days, the declaration states.

The Radicals appeal to BSP members and sympathizers who voted for such persons in their constituencies to organize petitions in support of this demand.

BSP Faction To Form 'Essentially New Party'

AU0611093290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 31 Oct 90 p 2

[Text] There are many people both inside the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and outside who are interested in our faction ceasing to exist, but we will not please them by disappearing in the near future, said Valentin Vatsev, representative of the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO], a faction inside the BSP, at a news conference held in the Sofia Press Agency on 30 October, one day after the leadership of the new independent ASO offshoot had explained its views in the very same location.

The members of the ASO Political Council emphasized that anyone is free to make his own decision on leaving the BSP, but no one is entitled to make this decision on behalf of the people who want to stay in the party as an internal party faction. In their view, the latest split may impart fresh impetus to the work of the ASO, because until now the association has been more concerned with itself than with its essential work within the party.

From now on, this work will be directed toward rethinking the party's history, preparing a major political document which will analyze the party's guilt and

responsibility, uncompromisingly dissociating the party from the nomenklatura, making a precise valuation of the party's property, and carrying out a radical cadre renewal. Last, but not least, the ASO stresses the importance of educational work, which should restore the true meaning of the concept of socialism as it is understood in our society.

The ASO bases this work on the initial position that it is working not for the renewal of the BSP, but for the creation of seed crystals, around which an essentially new party will form. The ASO members believe that in this sense the BSP is a favorable medium, representing "virgin soil for constructive political actions."

The dispute about the funds, name, property, and newspaper of the ASO will again provide much work for the lawyers. Informed colleagues reported that an attempt has already been made to withdraw a large amount from the ASO funds.

At the moment the two groups of former collaborators have a gentlemen's agreement that the blue DEN newspaper should reflect their positions in a balanced manner. The newspaper's latest issue provides a vivid example of this. In the issue, the two viewpoints are represented proportionally in terms of size—three pages for the ASO, as compared with five columns for the "independent ASO." The latter, having come off worse, claim that their only press publication is censored.

Dogan Advocates Peaceful Ethnic Coexistence

AU0511121890 Sofia BTA in English 1057 GMT 5 Nov 90

["We Should Live Side by Side, Ahmed Dogan Says"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 5 Nov (BTA)—The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) [DPS] has no interest in Bulgaria's turning into a second Lebanon, the MRF leader, Ahmed Dogan, says in the DUMA paper. He is categorical that the consolidation of the nation is one of the most important prerequisites for the country's democratization, therefore everybody, the state institutions included, should commit themselves to the task.

Mr. Dogan considers that it would be difficult to rectify the consequences of the forcible change of the ethnic Turks' names and of the introduction of bans on professing the Islamic religion. He sees a possibility of re-establishing the good relations between the ethnic groups in the revival of socio-economic interests. The joint participation in cultural, political and economic life, no matter what people's ethnic identity may be, is a must for the country's development, the MRF leader says. He declares himself to be for the triumph of justice—the people who organized and who subjected the ethnic Turks to repressions must bear their responsibility.

In connection with the hostile acts committed against the MRF—blowing up one of its clubs in Shumen, setting fire to the mosques in Khaskovo and Provadiya, assaulting activists of the movement, Mr. Dogan states that "the movement is doing its utmost to avoid extremes, irrespective of who the instigators may be." He explains the mistrust in the movement with its underground period that followed after 1985 and with the active position it took in the summer of 1989 at the time of the mass migration to Turkey. The movement was legalized at the beginning of 1990. At the elections in June it won 23 seats in the Bulgarian parliament.

We have taken not a single destructive stand on any problem, and as to separatism, it is absolutely out of question. On the contrary, we seek to contribute to the innovation, the MRF leader underlines.

Government Announces Income Indexing for Jun-Sep

AU0611104390 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 1 Nov 90 p 1

[Text] Sofia, 31 Oct (BTA)—The Council of Ministers has adopted a decision on indexing the population's incomes in order to compensate for the rise in consumer prices during the June-September period. On the basis of paragraph 2 of the final instructions of Council of Ministers Decree No. 103 on creating conditions for applying in practice the indexation of the populations' incomes, an index of 15.95 has been established for the rise in consumer prices during the period from June to September. The average cost of supporting one child in June 1990 is established as 120 leva.

The decree states that the firms and other economic organizations must index the September and October payments to compensate for increases in consumer prices by an index of 16.00, while the monthly allowances for each child will be increased by an addition of 19 leva. The compensations for pensions, as an exception, are to be effected by a single payment in December, by paying each pensioner monetary compensation of 24 leva for each month in the period from September to December 1990. The equalization of the compensatory payments for pensions under the procedure of Article 6 of the decree will be carried out additionally.

Gypsies Hold National Conference in Sliven

AU0611090190 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 30 Oct p 1

[Petur Dobrev report]

[Text] Representatives of the Movement for Cultural, Educational, and Social Development of the Gypsies from 42 towns throughout the country gathered in Sliven for their second national conference. As representatives of a movement which is a member of the Fatherland Union, the delegates discussed problems connected with the material, moral, and cultural backwardness of this section of the Bulgarian nation in overcoming the negative manifestations relating to the Bulgarian gypsies. The issues examined included housing problems, the low

level of literacy, and the widespread theft, gambling, and speculation among the Gypsies. Stress was laid on the need to adopt organizational measures to eliminate the ghettos, to organize courses to enable the Gypsies to improve their everyday living habits, and to set up reading rooms, libraries, and groups for artistic activities. A proposal was made to set up executive organs attached to the municipal people's councils to deal with Gypsy problems.

The second national conference adopted an appeal to the Gypsies throughout the country, which stated that first and foremost they should help themselves, and only then rely on society for aid. The conference adopted resolutions on creating structural divisions of the organization in all settlements where compact groups of Gypsies live.

Business Bloc Proposes National Free-Trade Zone

AU0511153890 Sofia BTA in English 1456 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 5 Nov (BTA)—The fledgling Bulgarian Business Bloc today launched the idea to turn Bulgaria into a free-trade zone. Mr. Valentin Mollov, a leading Bulgarian private businessman and an initiator of the bloc, described it to the press as a right-wing, Anglo-Saxon and "Thatcherite"-type political formation seeking to attract Bulgaria's best economic and intellectual brains.

Mr. Mollov presides over the Union of Private Entrepreneurs, an association of nearly 7,000 private companies and a bank with some twenty subsidiaries which finances the operation of the pioneering Bulgarian private businesses in construction, computer technology, trade, agriculture, and the tourist industry.

"We are working even though nothing helps us and everything stands in our way," Mr. Mollov said. "Can you imagine building capitalism in the conditions of socialism?"

These difficulties and certain disappointment at the existing political forces has prompted private business to set up a political formation of its own to defend its interests. Private entrepreneurs seek to foster a pragmatic spirit in parliament and a new political ethics which should be subordinated to the interests of people who want to hammer out their own and their country's fortune with their own hands, Mr. Mollov said.

The private business marketing is working effectively. Market research shows that the Business Bloc, which will be established and registered by the end of November, has a solid potential power base, according to opinion polls conducted by the Union of Private Entrepreneurs.

The Business Bloc adopts as its policy objective the conversion of Bulgaria into a free-trade zone. It argues that the geographical proximity with the USSR makes Bulgaria a natural "bridgehead" for the invasion of Western European and North American capital into the boundless Soviet market, Mr. Valentin Mollov believes.

In case the private entrepreneurs' economic concept is accepted, multinational companies are ready immediately to invest heavily into a modernization of the infrastructure: communications, railways and roads, extensions of the key Bulgarian ports on the Black Sea and the River Danube, and construction of at least two European-class airports in Bulgaria, he claims.

If Bulgaria turns into a free-trade zone, private business will guarantee within a year or two a freeze of unemployment, a growth of the export potential, an increase of tax revenues and, accordingly, an opportunity for the state to implement a normal social welfare policy.

Delays in Crop Harvesting, Winter Sowing Noted

AU0611090090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Oct 90 p 1

[Petko Stamov report]

[Text] Data gathered by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry shows that grain corn has still not been collected from 700,000 decares. According to the latest indications, the only solution is for the farmers to harvest the corn and dry it by traditional methods, since there is no fuel available for the drying houses. However, this was not foreseen in the spring, when late-maturing hybrids were sown.

Considering that at the end of the summer over 2 million decares of corn were harvested for silage, owing to the serious drought, the situation with feeding livestock during the winter looks far from rosy.

In addition, 100,000 decares of sugar beet and 50,000 decares of cotton have not been harvested either. This does not represent a large area for the size of the country, but the fields are concentrated in particular regions where there are shortages of equipment and workers.

The situation with the sowing is the same. About 1.5 million decares remain, which could be sown in four or five days. However, this is impossible, because the delays in the work have occurred mainly in three oblasts, the worst affected of which is Burgas Oblast, with 690,000 decares still unsown. The farmers there are probably counting on a warm, dry southern autumn, but in Mikhaylovgrad Oblast the farmers cannot rely on this.

The farmers who have not completed their sowing report all kinds of troubles; they have no spare parts and no fuel for their machines.

For the same reasons, no plowing has taken place in many localities, and the fallow fields are now overgrown with weeds. Next spring, it will be nothing out of the ordinary to carry out the plowing and sowing simultaneously.

Calfa Interviewed on Talks in Soviet Union

LD0211221490 Prague Television Service in Czech 1857 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Interview with Federal Premier Marian Calfa by an unidentified reporter, carried in the "10 Minutes with the Premier" program; place and date not given—recorded; Calfa speaks in Slovak throughout]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Premier, the spectrum of views in our press is very wide, but this time the journalists—and this is a rare occurrence—have agreed in their opinion that your trip to Moscow was not exactly a stroll through a rose garden, and that the discussions were difficult. Would you like to give us some personal impressions of the talks in the Kremlin?

[Calfa] I would like to confirm that the talks were, indeed, exceptionally important for Czechoslovakia and our economy, above all because, in the way we have mutually developed over a long period, we have become so firmly bound up with the Soviet Union's economy that few people really realize how tight it all is. Czechoslovakia has been receiving basically 100 percent of its primary raw material input from the Soviet Union—oil, gas, iron ore, and so on, there are a lot of these raw materials—and our enterprises, particularly the engineering ones, are in such a position that they have been geared up to produce for the needs of the Soveit market. We, therefore, had an exceptional interest in ensuring that our possibilities and our needs tallied as closely as possible with the Soviet side. A large number of problems had accumulated, this has been written about, so I will not repeat it, and of course when problems accumulate, then a certain degree of nervousness builds up until they are resolved in some way.

We went to the Soviet Union with a lot to discuss, and I would like to say that the talks with our Soviet partners were rather difficult. We found our opposite numbers and the whole Soviet leadership prepared to fight for Soviet interests, but they welcomed our delegation which was prepared to fight for our interests; sparks flew at times, but the result is that it is possible to conclude specific agreements at lower levels and in individual areas and negotiate them, because both of us gave jointly agreed instructions.

[Interviewer] I read a rather dramatic report in MLADA FRONTA DNES about how the delegation came out after the first part of the talks ended and how Minister Dlouhy was perspiring and how things got entangled. This was followed by an interesting sentence about the subsequent one-on-one meeting between both prime ministers, and how many things apparently changed following this meeting. Can anything be said about such talks publicly?

[Calfa] I think that one must say straight away that the Czechoslovak delegation, when it went to the Soviet Union, had no other option but to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union which would be acceptable to the Soviet Union and reasonably advantageous in some way to the Czechoslovak side. In Czechoslovakia various people emphasize different questions. The Federal Government is taking care to ensure that our national economy is running and that we are guaranteed heat and input raw materials so that we can ensure the normal development of the national economy next year. This was our principal task, and it is with this in mind that we went to the Soviet Union.

Of course, the talks with the Soviet delegation dealt with the clearly formulated interests of both sides, which were not always the same. We discussed crude oil, mutual deliveries of goods in accordance with indicative lists—that is, the list of goods which we were to export to the Soviet Union in return for deliveries of other products from 1 January—because we are going to pay in convertible currencies and at world prices. We discussed how rubles are to be converted into dollars, transport issues, and compensation for damage following Soviet troops' withdrawal. We also discussed certain issues concerning the movement of Soviet citizens where certain matters are being prepared.

These talks were exceptionally difficult, especially in regard to crude oil, which is of vital importance. The talks slowly reached an impasse because the Soviet side put forward an unequivical demand that we pay for the crude only in convertible currency. At the same time they did not demand any counter-deliveries from the Czechoslovak side contained in the list. It was simply—oil equals convertible currency—the entire amount of crude oil for Czechoslovakia. That stand was understandably unacceptable for our national economy, because our whole national economy and our entire production is geared for deliveries to the Soviet Union. I, therefore, do not know where we would acquire these dollars, and I am talking here about enormous sums of money.

My whole attempt, therefore, was to ask Premier Ryzhkov to meet me on a one-to-one basis; that discussion lasted more than an hour. It was educational for both of us, because we were able to express our views quite candidly. The outcome of that discussion is now well known. Premier Ryzhkov acknowledged some of our arguments and the outcome—and we were talking about oil—was a formulation that the Soviet side was prepared to seek ways of delivering 13 million tonnes of crude oil to Czechoslovakia. This is the technological minimum we require in return for our deliveries to the whole sector of the oil industry, particularly in regard to oil extraction, but also for necessities of life for oil workers in the oil-producing areas. I regard this standpoint as far more realistic then the one with which these talks started; therefore, I regard it as a successful outcome of those talks.

[Reporter] Mr. Premier, the last question: You mentioned possible future journeys by Soviet citizens abroad. There has been quite a lot said about it in this

country and there is a certain nervousness about it. Could you comment on this?

[Calfa] I asked Premier Ryzhkov a direct question about this at the plenary meeting. I asked him what the situation is concerning the regulations of journeys by Soviet citizens abroad? He informed our whole delegation that the Soviet Union is preparinga law on the free travel of Soviet citizens abroad; this has not been the case up to now. Within the framework of this law, Soviet citizens would be issued passports and Soviet citizens could travel to the whole of Europe, in fact probably the whole world. At the same time he informed us that this law has been submitted to the Soviet parliament, the Supreme Soviet, but so far it has only been discussed in the committees; the discussion is quite controversial and various views exist. The question is not closed, the law has not been adopted. Premier Ryzhkov himself did not dare say when exactly it would be adopted; that really depends on the parliament, when it closes the discussion, and so on. I myself concluded from what he said that it will definitely not be this year.

In further talks with Soviet representatives, our worries disappeared to a certain extent—namely, because the Soviet side is anticipating regulation of this travel, regulation concerning criminals or undesirable people. That is the first thing. Second, economic regulation is anticipated concerning the possibility of equipping these citizens with currency for these journeys, and so on. As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, it is naturally preparing itself for the situation. We will do our part to use all available means to ensure that this movement is regulated by agreement with the Soviet side using measures which are generally known and generally used by all states. This means investigation of the destination, the purpose of the journey, investigation of whether the finances, of the person correspond to the purpose of the journey, whether he has valid travel documents, whether he has travel documents for the return journey, and so on; there are a lot of these things.

If I can evaluate this more gnerally, this meeting was exceptionally necessary, it was exceptionally useful, and it was exceptionally instructive. Instructive namely about the fact that the Soviet Union is a huge country, our eastern neighbor. It is our neighbor, but today it is in the role of an equal trade partner who separates all other things from matters of trade. Equality should be valid in this area, and I hope that it will be valid.

[Reporter] Thank you for the interview.

Vales Chairs European Commission Meeting

LD0211140890 Prague CTK in English 1202 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Prague, Nov 2 (CTK)—The most topical task of the current period is the preparation of an agreement which is to define conditions for Czechoslovakia's complete membership of the European Community, according to a European Community Commission of the Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak Governments which had its first session here today.

The session was presided over by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales who will also lead a government delegation which will participate in the discussions on Czechoslovakia's cooperation with the EC Commission in Brussels on November 6-7, 1990.

Regret Expressed as Israel Rejects UN Resolution

AU0211181790 Prague CTK in English 1806 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 30 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry today issued a statement fully supporting UN Security Council Resolutions 672 and 673 and regrets that Israel rejects Resolution 672.

This resolution of October 12 denounces the violence committed by Israeli Security Forces against Palestinian demonstrators in East Jerusalem on October 8. The statement said that reports coming from Tel Aviv indicate that the Israeli Government is opposed also to Resolution 673 of October 25 calling on Israel to reassess its negative stand on Resolution 672 and refusal to accept a mission of the UN Secretary General which is to investigate the bloody clashes. The Israeli attitude mars in its consequences the peace effort of the international community on Iraq and weakens the authority of the UN Security Council. The only reasonable solution to the crisis situation and settlement in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question, are peaceful talks and dialogue of all the parties concerned, respect for valid norms of international law and consistent observance of human rights, the foreign ministry statement stresses.

Miklosko Explains Cancellation of Hungarian Visit

LD0211125790 Prague CTK in English 1135 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava Nov 2 (CTK)—A three-day visit by a Slovak parliamentary and government delegation to Hungary, due to have started today, has been cancelled by the Slovak side.

The reason for the cancelling of the visit or no other date were disclosed.

The delegation was to have been led by parliament Chairman Frantisek Miklosko and Premier Vladimir Meciar.

"In view of the latest internal political development in Slovakia we officially apologized to Hungarian representatives yesterday and asked them for a postponement of the visit," Chairman of the Slovak National Council (parliament) Frantisek Miklosko told CTK here today.

Speaking about the postponement of an official three-day visit to Hungary of the Slovak National Council (parliament) and government delegation, he voiced the

hope that due to the cordial contacts with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz Hungarian partners will understand the decision.

Dienstbier Views Results of Asian Tour

LD0211154990 Prague CTK in English 1436 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 2 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier told newsmen here today that his visit to Japan, Republic of Korea, Thailand and India was of a greater significance than it seemed originally.

After his arrival from the Asian tour, the minister said that these states appreciated the fact that his visit was the first one on government level from the Central and Eastern European countries since last year's changes.

He pointed to the great interest of the Asian states to cooperate and invest in Czechoslovakia, saying that, however, the states want that not only economic aspects but mainly political aspects be made clear. Foreign partners appreciated Czechoslovakia's economic standard and labour force quality but did not believe in irreversibility of the political process.

Dienstbier said that possibilities of economic cooperation are enormous. Thai Premier Chatchai Chunhawan, for instance, asked the minister whether Czechoslovakia is capable of delivering 5,000 lorries to Thailand.

As to cultural and other contacts between Czechoslovakia and the Asian states, the minister said that this cooperation can hardly be organized only at a governmental level at present. A goodwill must be linked with commercial approach which is possible in many Asian countries. It is necessary to create such prerequisites that contacts directly between the two countries' artists are established, the minister said.

Havel Comments on Future of Czechs, Slovaks

LD0111224590 Prague Television Service in Czech 2130 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. President, how do you see the future of the federation following your visit to Slovakia?

[Havel] I spent three days there. I visited various places and talked with a number of people, and I must say that my overall impression confirms my conviction that, following many misunderstandings and various dramatic situations we went through and which we are yet to experience, things will turn out well in the end. That means that our people will decide to continue living together in one common federative state. At least I would consider such a result as good.

Every nation, of course, has the right to decide upon the form of its state existence and neither I nor the Czech people would deny the Slovak people the right to decide for independence, if need be. My impression, however, is that, first, the majority of Slovaks do not want an independent state, and second, it would not be good for either the Czechs or the Slovaks. In my opinion, the majority of people realize this and my visit to Slovakia confirms this impression.

Havel Makes Personnel Changes in Army Command

LD0211211190 Prague CTK in English 1926 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Prague, 2 Nov (CTK)—Czechoslovak President and chief commander of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces Vaclav Havel today decided that Czechoslovakia's Defence Minister Lubos Dobrovsky, a civilian, will have two deputies—Lieutenant-General Anton Slimak, thus far first deputy, and Lieutenant-General Imrich Andrejcak, thus far commander of the Eastern Military Zone.

At the same time, the president dismissed Lieutenant-General Rudolf Duchacek, Lieutenant-General Josef Vincenc, and Major General Ondrej Kubizniak from the posts of deputy ministers.

National Socialist Party Views Noted

LD0311175390 Prague CTK in English 1513 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 3 (CTK)—The euphoria which followed the victory over totalitarianism is being replaced by sobering up, disappointment and even the blues, deputy chairman of the National Social Party Josef Lesak said at the party's first congress here today.

The party, which describes itself as one of the centre, is for preservation of a common state of the Czechs and Slovaks. It endorses the policy of changeover to a market economy, but urges the government to take measures to cushion the reform's negative impact on the socially weakest strata of the population.

The party is essentially against return of property to the Sudeten Germans who were transferred from Czechoslovakia after 1945.

Though the party does not wish that the communists experience what happened to its members in the 42 years of their totalitarian rule, they unequivocally back punishment of all those guilty of imprisoning people, judicial murders, theft of property and invitation of foreign troops to Czechoslovakia in 1968 when the revival process was crushed.

The National Social Party has seceded from the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and formed an independent party at the beginning of September 1990.

It now demands legal confirmation of its being follower of the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party which was abolished after the Communist seizure of power in

February 1948 and was replaced by the Czechoslovak Socialist Party. This party was active also under the Communist regime and recognized the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Dobrovsky Queried on Military Counterintelligence

AU0111132190 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 30 Oct 90 p 2

[Interview with Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky by "(rd)" and "(khv)"-signed MLADA FRONTA DNES correspondents on 29 October; place not given: "Who Protects the Army? A Few Questions for the New Minister of Defense"; first paragraph is MLADA FRONTA DNES introduction]

[Text] On Friday, 26 October, at 2200 Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky suspended the activity of the Military Defense Intelligence Service [Vojenske Obranne Zpravodajstvi]. All 827 employees are now on coerced "leave." This body was established on 1 July 1990 from the former Military Counterintelligence Service. It was also rid of its original simultaneous subordination to two different bodies—the State Security Corps and the Army—and, since the summer, has been only under the command of the minister of defense. The evalutaions which former members of the Military Counterintelligence Service had to pass before being admitted to the Military Defense Intelligence Service were carried out by only five civilians and five reactivated officers. Their results showed that about 28 percent of those subjected to evaluation were unfit for further service [in the military counterintelligence]. This is why we asked Lubos Dobrovsky to explain the reasons for the suspension of the Military Defense Intelligence Service. He told us last night:

"This step does not mean that aspersion is being cast on the acts of evaluating performed thus far. I believe, however, that the staff of the former counterintelligence service ought to be subjected to screenings, the methodology of which would be identical with those undergone by the staff of the State Security Corps. Even people who passed the screening should not work in the Military Defense Intelligence Service in the future." The minister went on to say that the work of the Military Defense Intelligence Service so far neither posed a threat to the democratization process in the state and in the Army nor was it at variance with the law."

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] According to information available to us, however, instances of theft of food, gasoline, and weapons presently occur in military units. How is the Army protected against this type of criminal activity?

[Dobrovsky] I have issued an order in which I instructed [Army units] to carefully guard weapons and ammunition. I have had Army depots secured, have had military facilities carefully guarded, and have had the archives and secret filing cabinets of all staff of the former Military Counterintelligence Service sealed.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] When will the screening commissions take up their work?

[Dobrovsky] It could be before the end of this week.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] We have received reports suggesting increased movements of Arab groups on the territory of Czechoslovakia, particularly around chemical and nuclear power plants. These movements are allegedly connected with the anti-chemical warfare unit which we want to send to Saudi Arabia.

[Dobrovsky] I have no information about such movements. Even though the activity of the Military Defense Intelligence Service has been suspended, the Army is neither blind nor deaf.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] The activity of the Military Defense Intelligence Service is thus suspended, yet a new defense system has not been built....

[Dobrovsky] It is natural that this causes a certain amount of pressure. I will transfer it to those who decide on legislation. We need to create legislative measures which would make it possible to quickly build a new protective Army system.

Dlouhy on Importance of Transit Pipeline Issue

LD0211161190

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1100 GMT on 2 November broadcasts a five-minute program, which includes the view of federal Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy on the announced token strike by gas industry workers, scheduled to take place on 5 November.

Dlouhy says: "I am due to meet republican ministers of economy and the republican ministers in charge of industrial ministries on Monday afternoon [15 November] in Znojmo. Further talks will be held on structural policy, divisions of power, and other matters. One of the problems that I must discuss there, and which I would like to hammer out in quite a tough way with Slovak Economic Minister Mr. Belcak, is the transit pipeline issue. In this respect I would like to stress that the Federal Government will take a very uncompromising stance on this issue, because the economic costs incurred by the division of the transit pipeline into two corporations are considerable. These do not boil down only to the issues of taxation or the issues of dividing profits, they are questions of real strategic importance." Dlouhy elaborates on Czechoslovakia's importance as a link between the USSR and Western Europe.

He goes on to say: "The transit pipeline has a much more value as one entity. The cost effectiveness of this transit pipeline as one entity is dependent on international agreements. The point is that if the Soviet Union has to negotiate with two partners, it could have misgivings about a number of matters. If we split it into two parts there could be a danger that neither the Western nor the Eastern partners would consider Czechoslovakia as the best territory across

which the supplies should go. These could then go across other territory, for example across Poland."

Dlouhy then cites some specific costs incurred by dividing the pipeline, such as building compressor stations on Bohemian-Slovak borders. These costs would run to hundreds of millions of crowns, and some of them would have to be paid in hard currency. Dlouhy continues: "I think that as far as this matter is concerned, the Federal Government cannot and simply must not back down." He welcomes the standpoint of respective trade unions and says he believes the Slovak side would make a sensible decision on this matter. "Of course, we have to have a federation formed by two sovereign nations and states; however, on the other hand, we must have a federation which thinks in optimal economic terms," noted Minister Dlouhy in conclusion.

Czech Government on Sudeten German's Property

AU0211181690 Prague CTK in English 1621 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 30 (CTK)—The Czech Government denied today a report in the weekly SUDETENDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG that it had a different stand on compensation to Germans, who were transferred from Czechoslovakia after World War II, than the stand published in the Czech daily HOSPODARSKE NOVINY on October 16.

"The government of the Czech Republic has not discussed compensation to transferred Sudeten Germans," government spokesman Petr Prihoda told CTK. "The information in the SUDETENDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG that a Czech Government spokesman has announced that the Czech Government takes a different stand on the issue of property rights of the Sudeten Germans from that published in HOSPODARSKE NOVINY is not based on the truth," he said.

The economic daily HOSPODARSKE NOVINY wrote in an article on October 16 that Czechoslovakia's authority over property confiscated from transferred Germans had been clearly confirmed by the reparations commission in Paris in 1945 and that the transferred Germans living on the territory of West Germany had already received compensation from the Bonn government. To demonstrate its goodwill, Czechoslovakia is prepared to hold talks with Germany on various issues, including property of the Sudeten Germans. A note proposing to start talks at the level of experts was sent to Germany in June. The German side apologized for being too busy with German reunification at that time. Neither of the options, however, allows for "talks on the return of physical persons or their demand for the return of particular property," HOSPODARSKE NOVINY wrote. Only government-sponsored talks are possible, the paper said.

The SUDETENDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG quoted in its report an announcement by Franz Neubauer, spokesman for the Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft at its session.

Civic Forum Chairman Holds News Conference

LD0211165490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Civic Forum [OF] Chairman Vaclav Klaus said at a news conference today that the views that the Slovak Government brought to Prague last week were, overall, unacceptable. Thus, the problems of the united Central Bank have been solved; however, the issues of the tax system, of customs policy, and price policy remain open.

Vaclav Klaus went on to say that it is quite clear that the position and the scope [pozice i rozsah, in Czech] will be limited. He also said that the prime ministers of all three governments will meet on Monday for talks.

Speaking about the OF's activities, he said that the problem of violation of its unity from within is seen as great—greater than external dangers.

The OF chairman also explained why he had been devoting more time than other politicians to direct meetings with citizens. He said that this was because he does not believe in indirect influence on citizens [protoze nemuze verit neprimemu vplyvu na obcny].

Civic Forum Chairman on Internal Threats

LD0211195390 Prague CTK in English 1633 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 2 (CTK)—Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the Civic Forum (OF), the strongest political force in Czechoslovakia, criticized today "acts against OF from within" which represent a "greater danger than a threat from without".

At a press conference he confirmed the decision of the OF council to expell "the Left Alternative" and "Obroda" (the Movement of Reform Communists, OF co-founders) from OF. He denied that he had described Petr Uhl, a leader of the Left Alternative (a group working for self-government socialism) as "the greatest enemy of OF".

Klaus, a co-author of the radical economic reform in Czechoslovakia, said that the shift which is being described as a move to the right "reflects the shift in the views of the public and OF supporters" and he only implements it.

Klaus said that "nothing has happened that would weaken the OF parliamentary group." The group has actually divided into two: The interparliamentary group of the Democratic Right Wing was set up by some sixty federal and Czech parliament deputies on October 10 and the formation of the Interparliamentary Civic Association was announced this week. The latter includes OF

deputies regarded s centrists (Milos Zeman), former reform Communists (Ladislav Lis), the Left Alternative (Petr Uhl) and others.

In an interview in today's daily LIDOVE NOVINY Klaus said he opposed the existence of "unstructured quasi-coalitions which OF has been so far" and called for OF to form itself as a political party. He said that Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, who co-founded OF, agreed with Klaus that the "recent changes in OF benefit" the movement.

Meciar Evaluates Current Political Situation

AU0211202590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Oct 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "'The Matica Has Violated Its Articles'"]

[Text] Bratislava—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar held a consultative meeting in Bratislava yesterday [29 October] afternoon with the chairmen of the city's district national committees and the chairmen of district and regional national committees throughout Slovakia. The purpose of the meeting was to evaluate the current internal political situation. According to the premier, there are several aspects to this situation. In his speech, he briefed the meeting's participants on recent events in Bratislava and on the point of view adopted by the Slovak Government and the Slovak National Council on these events.

Among other things, the Slovak premier stated that current cooperation with the political parties is very intense. The same applies to the government's own work. "I made a personal visit to the Matica Slovenska [Slovak Heritage Foundation]," he said. "During a discussion with its Presidium, we agreed that this institution's political activity has exceeded the boundary determined by its articles. The Presidium adopted a point of view which, however, was rejected by a majority vote in the Matica Slovenska Committee. Because of the activity of a few extremists, the Matica has got itself into a situation which we do not want it to be in. Today I telephoned Matica Slovenska functionaries and informed them that the state cannot afford to finance an organization which is struggling against it. It is up to the Matica whether it will develop its activity in harmony with its articles. Apart from this, I pointed out that they should investigate the stance adopted by Jozef Markus, chairman of the Matica Slovenska Committee." According to the premier, he did not take up a ministerial post in the Slovak or in the Federal Government—despite a Christian Democratic Movement proposal—and he has never explained why. "Obviously, this is his way of compensating for lost personal ambitions which he will no longer achieve in life." Vladimir Meciar also mentioned his talks with several Slovak National Party functionaries, talks which were very levelheaded. He confirmed that there are differences of opinion in the party. Some members and leading functionaries—Slovak National Council deputies—are distancing themselves from Moric and part of the leadership.

When speaking about the security situation in Slovakia, he stated that extraordinary security measures have been implemented in Bratislava and the West Slovakia region. A total of 1,800 members of the Border Guard have been brought in to bolster operations. We have activated other security elements to make sure that certain groups of citizens do not arm themselves. According to the premier, warnings about terrorist attacks have been received. He stated that the reliability of the information and the probability that such an armed group already exists is 1:1.

Despite the aforementioned facts, Vladimir Meciar expressed his conviction that it is possible to come to grips with the current political situation. He also referred to certain fascist tendencies in society and, in this connection, he spoke about the great apprehension developing in Prague in view of events in Slovakia. There are fears—and they are not unfounded—that the extremist forces will not stop. Their first step is supposed to be the attempted declaration of Slovak sovereignty on 17 November. This development may be politically very unpleasant for us in view of the negotiations on the division of jurisdiction. These talks are just beginning to culminate. The second step is supposed to be the declaration of an independent Slovakia. In conclusion, the Slovak premier stated that he does not want to dramatize the situation, but he emphasized the need for an objective flow of information.

Slovak Representatives on Meciar-Andras Dispute

LD0211205690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] In our midday Radio Journal we carried interviews with representatives of the [Slovak] government coalition on the dispute between Premier Meciar and Interior Minister Andras Affair. All three representatives promised that by 1800 they would provide a comprehensive report on the results of the session and on the resolution of the whole dispute. Consequently our editors Alica Bielikova and Ivan Kosec went to the Slovak National Council [SNR] building on October Square, where the news conference was supposed to take place. They returned from there a short while ago, so we have not even had time to edit or play their cassette recording, and we will broadcast it as recorded. Attending the news conference were members of the SNR Presidium, and the first to speak was Ivan Carnogursky, deputy chairman of the SNR:

[Begin recording] [Carnogursky] Allow me to begin by giving a short explanation of this impromptu news briefing, as it is called, to the effect that following the talks between the coalition partners during the day and following a session of the SNR Presidium which adopted resolutions, we mutually agreed that we would make a statement or resolution available to the press on the situation which has arisen and the solutions we have

adopted. We do not intend to comment any further on these situations or decisions, because we believe that the aim we are pursuing, which is to calm the public mood, would not be achieved by doing so; on the contrary, by further questions, answers, and possible further doubts on the part of individual journalists we would probably only stir up that mood even further.

We agreed on the following order: first I will read a statement by the coalition political parties on the situation which has arisen in the Slovak Government and of the Interior Minister of the Slovak Republic dated today, 2 November 1990. Then SNR Chairman Mr. Miklosko will read the resolution we adopted to resolve this problem, and finally SNR Deputy Chairwoman Mrs. Keltosova will also read a statement we adopted in connection with the appeal by the Federal Assembly deputies on the preparations for the elections to the local government bodies.

I will read the text of the statment by the political parties:

Following earlier statements by Mr. Meciar, premier of the government of the Slovak Republic, about the activity of Interior Minister Andras, on 2 November 1990 representatives of the coalition parties met to discuss the situation which had arisen and possibilities of solving it. Being aware of their responsibility for political development in Slovakia and the need to look for ways of calming the situation, they expressed their mutual effort for the strengthening of the coalition government and its effectiveness in dealing with the new economic and political problems which arise daily.

In the interest of solving the problem of the Interior Ministry of the Slovak Republic they agreed to remove the present conflicts with the provision that until the problem is definitively solved, the sector will be headed temporarily by First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky, until 11 November 1990 at the latest. At the same time they agreed to make a more precise coalition agreement which will set out the duties of the political partners and will in the future prevent various interpretations of measures by individual ministers. The details of the solution were put forward for approval to the Presidium of the Slovak National Council which is empowered to make a decision on individual proposals.

[Miklosko] I will acquaint you with three resolutions of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council today:

I. The resolution of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council of 2 November 1990 about the nonacceptance of the resignation of the Slovak premier.

The Presidium of the Slovak National Council

1. Acknowledges that according to Article 131, paragraph 1 of Constitutional Law 143/1968 of the volume On the Czechoslovak Federation, Vladimir Meciar, Slovak premier, submitted his resignation as Slovak premier in a letter of 31 October 1990.

2. In the sense of Article 132 of Constitutional Law 143/1968 of the volume On the Czechoslovak Federation it does not accept the resignation submitted by the Slovak premier.

II. The resolution of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council of 2 November 1990 about the acceptance of the resignation of the Minister of Interior of the Slovak Republic:

The Presidium of the Slovak National Council, according to Article 131 paragraph 1 of Constitutional Law number 143/1968 of the volume On the Czechoslovak Federation accepts the resignation of Anton Andras as member of the government of the Slovak Republic in charge of the Ministry of Interior which he submitted to the Presidium of the Slovak National Council in a letter of 2 November 1990.

III. The resolution of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council of 2 November 1990 about directing the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic.

The Presidium of the Slovak National Council, according to Article 132 of the Constitution Law number 143/1869 of the volume On the Czechoslovak Federation has decided that Jan Carnogursky, first deputy Slovak premier is to be temporarily in charge of the Ministry of Interior until the appointment of the Minister of Interior.

[Keltosova] I will read you a statement by the SNR Presidium on the proposal by Federal Assembly deputies to have the candidates to the communal elections screened.

The SNR Presidium, meeting on 2 November 1990, discussed a proposal that candidates in the communal elections in November 1990 be screened. It acted on its own initiative, which gave rise to a national holiday—Reconciliation Day—in Slovakia as the basis for present and future understanding between citizens.

The Presidium is also opposed to causing a new wave of suspicion and mistrust of thousands of candidates, they are well-known people in local conditions. As a result, we do not recommend that in these circumstances screenings should take place. That is all. [end recording]

Moric Responds to Calls for Resignation

AU0311181090 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 30 Oct 90 p 1

[Interview with Slovak National Party Chairman Vitazoslav Moric by a "(dp)" -signed SMENA reporter; place and date not given: "I Dissociate Myself from the Appeal"]

[Text] [SMENA] A group of deputies for the Slovak National Party [SNS], led by Anton Hrnko, has appealed to you to resign from the post of SNS chairman because of incompetent public pronouncements and highhandedness. How do you respond to this appeal?

[Moric] Mr. Hrnko is not a member of our party and, therefore, has no right to call for my resignation. I discuss all my pronouncements with the SNS Executive Committee and do not intend to further analyze this problem in the press.

[SMENA] What about the accusation of incompetence?

[Moric] Apparently, it arises from my signature under the statement calling for civil disobedience [in protest against the Slovak language law passed by Slovak parliament]. Because this statement was written under time constraints, and also includes this undemocratic appeal, I dissociate myself from this statement.

[SMENA] The so-called Authentic SNS was established a few days ago. Does this herald a split in the SNS?

[Moric] I see no reason why the founding of the Authentic SNS should be the start of a split in our SNS. Every citizen has the right to establish a party of his own and to express his opinion. The founding of the Authentic SNS has no bearing on our program.

[SMENA] Yesterday your party dissociated itself from another meeting held at the Slovak National Uprising Square. Why?

[Moric] Some movements would like to manipulate us into something with which we do not want to have anything in common. We say, therefore, that we dissociate ourselves from all meetings and activities which are not connected with the struggle for the Slovak National Heritage Foundation's draft of the law on the Slovak language.

New Slovak Nationalist Movement Stages Rally

AU0311201990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Oct 90 p 2

[Frantisek Melis report: "Meeting Under Umbrellas"]

[Excerpts] A new political phenomenon appeared on the Slovak political scene last Friday [26 October]—the National Salvation Committee [Vybor za Zachranu Naroda]. According to Stanislav Panis, its main spokesman, it fully supports the Slovak National Heritage Foundation [Matica Slovenska] and will back its demands. The main issue now is permanent defense of the foundation's draft of the law on official language.

The committee organized a meeting late yesterday afternoon in support of the foundation's draft. Despite the rainy weather, hundreds of Bratislava residents met at the Slovak National Uprising Square to demonstrate their disapproval of the adopted so-called coalition draft of the law. The demonstrators' indignation was directed not only against the Slovak Government and parliament, but also against the "new totalitarianism" represented by the Public Against Violence movement [VPN] and personified by Vladimir Meciar, Frantisek Miklosko, and other leading representatives of our political life. Jan Carnogursky and the political line of the Christian Democratic Movement were not spared either but, as usual, it was communists who came in for the heaviest criticism. In their emotional addresses, the speakers labeled practically all opponents of the Foundation's draft of the law as "old structures" and Czechoslovakists. Student representatives were even branded as Hungarophiles. [passage omitted]

When we asked Stanislav Panis about the objective of this meeting, he told us that it is an event organized by the National Salvation Committee, which has nothing in common with the Slovak National Party. The committee set itself the goal to elevate the nation precisely now when, according to S. Panis, it needs it most because Premier Meciar and Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko disappointed the hopes of a considerable part of the Slovak nation. S. Panis described the present Slovak political representation as illegitimate and under the influence of the VPN's totalitarian power and called for its resignation. [passage omitted] By chanting, the demonstrators repeatedly expressed support for Jozef Markus, chairman of the Slovak National Heritage Foundation, and demanded that new elections be called. They expressed both moral and material support for the hunger strikers in front of the Slovak National Council building. The rally ended with the singing of the first stanza of the song "Onward Slovaks!"

CSEMADOK Head on Hungarians in Slovakia

AU0211083490 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 Oct 90 p 8

[Interview with Zoltan Sido, head of the Hungarian People in Czechoslovakia Cultural Union, by Istvan Boros; place and date not given: "This Is No Karabakh"; first two paragraphs are MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Excerpts] The Hungarian People in Czechoslovakia Cultural Union [CSEMADOK] has played a leading role in the cultural life (and, to a certain extent, the political movement) of the Hungarians in Slovakia over the past 40 years. Established in 1949, this organization came into being as a result of a political need; the Stalinist national minority policy of that time needed an organization which proved that, following the deportations of 1945, the Hungarians in the area had the possibility of cultural self-organization.

We spoke with Zoltan Sido about the past, present, and the future.

[Boros] What can CSEMADOK now do with its state party inheritance?

[Sido] To begin with, I must say that our organization was the only Hungarian organization in this country until November 1989. The Democratic Federation of Hungarians in the CSSR (formerly the Cultural Association of Hungarian Workers in the CSSR) was primarily a cultural organization, but we also had to deal with political issues, because our members "forced" us to do

so. This activity also included the issue of bilingualism, Hungarian culture, and Hungarian education. After November 1989, many people thought that it was now time to make use of the historic opportunity and CSEMADOK should become a political party or movement.

[Boros] Like the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ]?

[Sido] Yes, but the Hungarian society in Slovakia was not homogeneous even before November 1989, so a big national "embrace" would have not been useful at all. At the same time, many people compared the situation of Hungarians in Slovakia to that of Hungarians in Romania, while others objected the emergence of several political movements.

[Boros] Is this differentiation and the current setup good for the Hungarians in Slovakia?

[Sido] If the various political movements find their own image and place in the political arena, this will definitely be useful. [passage omitted]

[Boros] To what extent is your organization cultural and to what extent is it political?

[Sido] In a parliamentary democracy, the two types of activity should be separated. When we refused to become a political movement, we did so because we thought that a public organization aimed at promoting our national self-awareness, our mother tongue, and the Hungarian culture could not take upon itself to enter politics with such a program. [passage omitted]

[Boros] How do you view Slovak-Hungarian relations now, after the oppression of previous years?

[Sido] If one only reads the extremist Slovak newspapers, one would think that the two ethnic groups are killing each other. This is not true. This is incited and organized from above—and from above also in a geographical sense, and not by people who have been living together for centuries. People who have never lived together with the Hungarians want to draw political benefits from inciting artificial conflicts.

[Boros] What interests do these people have in doing this?

[Sido] If the Hungarians in Slovakia are declared enemies, and CSEMADOK is declared as an antistate organization (as it has already been), and if the Hungarian political movements are accused of irredentism, the aforementioned nationalists become politically stronger by inciting the hotheads. The current relations between Slovaks and Hungarians are not worse than before, and one cannot say that these relations are bad. They had common joy and sorrow in the past decades. We are not aware of any conflicts. At the same time, as a result of the aforementioned incitement, anti-Hungarian slogans have appeared on the walls: "Let us beat up the Hungarians!"; "Hungarians to Gas Chambers!"; "Hungarians Over the Danube"! "Do not let the Hungarians spoil our republic!" and so on. Bilingual inscriptions were painted over in many places. One has to admit that this is also part of the reality. All this can lead to serious conflict, and people could start fighting in the wake of such atrocities.

[Boros] Has blood been spilled?

[Sido] No. No fighting has yet occurred.

[Boros] Are you afraid?

[Sido] We are not afraid. We received a lot of threats, and I have also received many threatening letters. I am constantly harassed on the phone, and people say that "you will end up like Suto!" I, however, do not take all this seriously. The situation in Slovakia is different from other areas in Europe where national minority disturbances occurred. There will be no Tirgu Mures here. This is no Kharabakh!

Council of Europe Membership Made Official

LD0611102490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Hungary has been the first Eastern European state to join the Council of Europe. Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky signed the organization's charter and the European Convention on Human Rights in Rome. From now on, our country will take part as a full member in the session of the ministers' committee of the Council of Europe, the main topic of which on this occasion is the body's relationship to Eastern Europe.

Rabar Addresses National Assembly on Fuel Prices

LD0511154890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1429 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Speech by Finance Minister Ferenc Rabar at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly, Mr. Speaker, I turn to the esteemed National Assembly with the proposal that the it kindly remove from its 5-6 November agenda the draft bill on the amendment of Law No. 51 of 1989 which deals with consumer tax and consumer price supplements.

Today, in the Interest Coordinating Council, a debate evolved about the sphere of liberalization that the government wants to assert in this draft bill. It became obvious that we understand liberalization in more general terms and in a wider sphere, and we do not exclusively wish that the international price of mineral oil should penetrate the Hungarian price system on some kind of specific algorithmic basis. We, therefore, wish to make gasoline, oil, and all distillation product prices competitive, and in accordance with this, liberalization also demands that we make an institutional system—import competition—possible.

The preparation of all these issues requires a few days, or perhaps a few weeks more than we thought when we made our last agreement, and for this reason we agreed with the Interest Coordination Council on the following communique:

To prepare the necessary measures for price liberalization and the method of selling fuels, discussions will begin without delay within the professional committees of the Interest Coordinating Council. The results will be discussed by the plenary session. The expert discussions and the work of the Interest Coordinating Council's plenary session will have to be organized in such a way that the rules of liberalization will come into effect as soon as possible. Until these rules come into effect, the fuel prices set at midnight on 29 October 1990 will remain in force.

Should world market prices of mineral oil and fuels change to a large degree compared to current prices, and if purchasing possibilities narrow, the Interest Coordinating Council will immediately convene to draft an agreement appropriate to the new situation.

The Interest Coordinating Council agrees with lifting the ban according to which gasoline stations can only serve fuel for motor cars. The communique will appear in the MAGYAR KOZLONY. Thank you.

Current Status of Fuel Supplies Analyzed

AU0511162590 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 30 Oct 90 p 5

[Interview with Pal Valastyan, chairman of the Nagyalfold Crude Oil and Natural Gas Extraction Enterprise in Szeged, by Miklos Halasz; place and date not given: "Supplies Are Decreasing—Is the Situation on the Algyo Gas Fields 'Explosive'?"; first paragraph is MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Excerpts] Increasingly alarming news is coming in about expected fuel supplies. According to present information and calculations, the energy resources of Hungary's greatest natural gas and crude oil field in Algyo will significantly decrease within a few years' time, and in 10 or 20 years, the tide will turn in production. Dr. Pal Valastyan was awarded with the title "Excellent Inventor" three times, and he recently completed his academic doctorate. That is not just his personal affair because his research work is linked to the future of the Algyo gas field. As for the prospects of the Algyo gas fields, these cannot be ignored by inhabitants in various parts of Hungary because the Algyo area near Szeged provides half of the country's hydrocarbon production. [passage omitted]

[Halasz] Along with many other worried Hungarian citizens, you are probably wondering what will happen if only air arrives through the gas pipes once the cold has set in.

[Valastyan] Maybe only a few people know that so much natural gas arrived in the summer months that a limit had to be put on domestic production. Storage tanks were filled to the brim. Our greatest storage tank is in underground cavities in Hajduszoboszlo. It also seems certain that the Soviets will not deliver any more gas during the winter. Perhaps the first step that could be taken to put an end to our one-sided import dependency and vulnerability would be to open new gas storage tanks. Thus, during the summer, we could fill up our supplies. I do not think that our Soviet partner has been asked yet about the increased amount of gas that it could deliver during the warmer months. As far as I know, Western countries already prepare in the summer for the expected increased fuel demands in winter, and they fill up their storage tanks at a time when gas prices are cheaper. [passage omitted]

[Halasz] Is it a state secret, or could you tell me how long the gas fields in Algyo will be able to heat Hungarian households?

[Valastyan] That is no secret. For five years we will extract the same amount as we do today; thereafter, for 15 years, we will be able to extract a steadily decreasing, but significant amount of gas. Currently, we extract 3 billion cubic meters of gas per year, but between 1995 and 2010, this amount will be reduced to 1 billion cubic meters. The same tendency applies to other areas—that is, to the total domestic extraction of natural gas. Intensive research has not yet brought any results in Hungary. Of course, it may well be that our technical tools and methods are not state of the art in the sphere of exploitation. It would be beneficial for us if we could form partnerships with Western firms, because then we could improve our research methods. Unfortunately, economic barriers are still strong in this area. The law on mines would have to be modified, so foreign firms may act as researchers in our country.

[Halasz] I am perfectly aware of the fact that it is impossible to relate multilateral research to the general public, even in the form of headlines. The reason for this is very simple: The general public is not an expert. I would, however, appreciate it if you could mention a few of the inexpensive solutions that Hungary could use for its fuel supplies.

[Valastyan] In the area surrounding Szeged, we would like to start operating an electric power station on the basis of a kind of natural gas that can no longer be used in the network because of the low pressure levels. To increase our dollar revenues, we have worked out methods whereby propane-butane and other valuable chemical industry raw materials can be extracted from natural gas. The range of products manufactured on the basis of natural gas has grown from seven products to 17 products, without particular investments or expenditures. [passage omitted]

Democratic Forum Faction Elects Presidium

LD0511212690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] The parliamentary faction of the Democratic Forum elected a new presidium. The deputies confirmed Imre Konya in his post as faction leader, and the following new members were elected to the Presidium: Ferenc Kulin, Ivan Szabo, Istvan Balazs, Istvan Marko, Ferenc [name indistinct], and Gabor Perjes. To make their work more efficient, the Democratic Forum faction formed working groups, the leaders of which are also members of the Presidium.

Free Democrats Call For Government Reshuffle

AU0511121590 Budapest MTI in English 2038 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, 2 November (MTI)—"Since last week's stormy events, Hungary is no longer the same country as it was before. One can no longer believe that price rises cannot trigger off protests and demonstrations here. The situation is still grave, since further restrictive measures are unavoidable. In an effort to prevent similar crises, all the emerging conflicts should be settled through negotiations. This should be the number one political goal," Janos Kis, chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], the largest opposition party, told a news conference on Friday.

Reading out the Free Democrats' declaration analysing the new political situation, Kis said, "The government should draw personal and political conclusions from what had happened. On this score, the prime minister made some promising statements, but, so far, confined himself to generalities only," Kis said. In the SZDSZ's view, the government should be reshuffled, but the related decision should be made by the prime minister after talks with the coalition partners.

The SZDSZ considers it necessary for the government to speak sincerely and candidly about the unavoidable measures it is going to take.

Horvath on Armed Forces' Occupational Status

LD0511213890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1722 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Remarks by Interior Minister Balazs Horvath in presenting a bill on the occupational status of the Armed Forces at the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, Esteemed National Assembly. When I recall the electoral contests at the turn of this year, almost every party had it on their agenda to put the Interior Ministry in the civil sphere. When, with respect and on behalf of the government, I place before the house the bill to amend Law No. 1971/10 on the occupational status of the professional units of the Armed Forces and armed bodies, I am doing it in the same spirit. We drafted the proposal on this basis.

The bill is part of the process of establishing a state organization, on the path to creating a democratic legal state. It aims to abolish the armed status of the Interior Ministry and the central organizations working under its direction, in line with the changed role of the Interior Minister in the government.

The Interior Ministry is to become a civil ministry—and from this it follows that these bodies should also become civil ones. As everyone knows, this process already began at the Interior Ministry with the rearrangement of various spheres of authority, with the establishment of the legal independence of the state security organs and the police, and the modernization of their direction.

The bill presents the next step: All posts in the Interior Ministry and in central organs working under its direction, which do not require the involvement of armed professionals, will be reclassified as civil employments. According to the now-valid law, service begins with one's appointment; at the same time, the allocation of the service status also takes place. The service status is determined by the post to which people are appointed.

This bill intends to change this dual requirement, making it possible to reclassify already existing appointments as civil posts.

If the bill is accepted and enacted, the service status and the service posts in the Interior Ministry and its subordinate central organs can be separated. The opportunity to carry out the desired process of turning them into civil employment [polgarositas] will then be presented.

In preparing the bill, the government paid special attention—bearing in mind the requirements of a legal state—to the fact that the basic rights of those organizations working under the Interior Ministry not be damaged. The bill only contains the restriction of those rights which directly conflict with holding a civil employment, or appear to do so.

Esteemed National Assembly, the changes in political power—the systematic completion of system change-over—demand the democratization of the police, the easing of over-centralization, and the realization of the interests of self-governments.

The bill aims to achieve these by introducing a system of competition in appointing the chief of police and regional chiefs of police, along with other posts to be determined later. The introduction of a system of competition will, in the view and hope of the government, make it possible for these posts to be filled by those best fitted for them in the future.

The bill that the government is now presenting to you is very important in its impact. We feel it would strengthen police management, which is presently a doubtful position, as far as their future is concerned. With the amendment of this law, a natural self-cleansing mechanism is introduced in the selection of the leadership, which could be suitable for the screening of the police leadership. The other side of this is, of course, that it gives police leaders suitable acceptability.

I am fully informed about the debates on this which took place in the committees on self-government and the Constitution. I would like to point out to the Esteemed National Assembly that their concern over the power of self-governments in selecting police chiefs is unfounded, and is based either on misunderstanding or misinterpretation. I did say that we wish to add to the powers of the self-governments the selection of personnel. This will happen if, in the five-member jury that we are proposing, the self-governments are represented and can make their voices heard. It will happen when the future law on the police sets out duties of accountability on the part of the police; it will become clear when you accept a law on the police which gives the mayors or the self-governments the right to issue directions for the completion of certain tasks.

I believe that under these conditions the selection—in this case, their screening—of police leaders and their authorization with strong, legitimate power can and will take place in accordance with the government's conception. I, therefore, am asking for your help, with your decision that the Interior Ministry and the services under it be able to start toward the civil sphere, in line with classic European traditions and the practice of bourgeois democracies.

I am also asking that, with your decision, you provide reassurance to the police, so we can at last reach a point where the reconfirmed police leaders can issue straightforward, decisive orders and directions—as they would in some form have been accepted and strengthened. Thank you for your attention.

Mazowiecki Wants Border Treaty After German Vote

LD0511210490 Hamburg DPA in German 1120 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki will speak to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Frankfurt/Oder on Thursday [8 November] and argue that at least a border treaty should be signed immediately after the all-German elections and the formation of the government. In an interview with DPA he gave an assurance that the meaning of this meeting is to "orient toward the future."

"Poland wants to initial and sign a border treaty as quickly as possible. I understand that an all-German government has to be formed first. So we should at least initial it," he said. "In our view there is no reason to delay the first treaty as it is already finished. The second treaty on cooperation and good-neighborliness still needs some time to be worked out but we want to complete it as soon as possible too. I would not like to give any dates but I think that we should sign the first and complete the second treaty immediately after the elections and the formation of an all-German government."

On the rights of the German minority, Mazowiecki said that all minorities in Poland have to be treated equally. "There can be no special status of one or another minority." The question of dual citizenship should "not be a subject of discussion with another state. It is an internal matter for Poland." Just as Germany allows no interference in its internal legislation, "there can also be no talk of us discussing with anyone what sort of citizenship there should be in Poland."

In order to achieve true reconciliation according to the German- French model we should "above all, open the borders. That means abolishing visas so that the two peoples may meet." Cooperation in the economic and ecological area is also important. A joint initiative on environmental protection in the three countries of Poland, the eastern part of Germany, and Czechoslovakia is conceivable in light of common problems. "A close network of human contacts, economic cooperation, and such joint initiatives as, for example, cleaning up the Oder [Odra], could be a very good model for cooperation." In the economic area Poland hopes for more intensive cooperation and an easing of the debt burden.

In Poland, as in other countries, there are certain fears concerning the great economic power of the Germans. The Polish Government is however banking above all on the "opportunities" of the new neighborliness. Fears arise sometimes among the population that economic aid can be used against Poland, for example in that only the German minority and German traditions will be supported in Poland. "On the one hand there is, therefore, the will to cooperate, but on the other, this is not free from fears."

Mazowiecki said that at the intrastate level Warsaw has no doubt that the Germans view the Oder-Neisse [Odra-Nysa] border as final. There has been a "breakthrough" in this regard. Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's speech to the expellees played an essential role in this.

Discusses Germans, Walesa, Economy

AU0511153590 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 5 Nov 90 pp 200-210

[Interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Dieter Wild, Klaus Reinhardt, and Martin Pollack in Warsaw; date not given: "A Certain Chaos"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Prime Minister, when Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Helmut Kohl will meet in Frankfurt/Oder on 8 November, will they just hug each other or will there also be a fraternal kiss.

[Mazowiecki] I do not know whether there is such an enormous difference between a hug and a fraternal kiss.

[DER SPIEGEL] A small one.

[Mazowiecki] Our people expect, above all, progress in mutual relations. Therefore, I consider the meeting with Chancellor Kohl very important. The chapter of the past in our relations should now be concluded. It is my heartfelt wish that we can open up a new chapter of multifaceted and useful goodneighborly relations. This is very important for us and I believe that it is also important for the united Germany.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do the Poles not feel that they are the losers of German unification? The FRG capital they had hoped to get is now primarily absorbed by East Germany.

[Mazowiecki] As regards relations with Germany, it is not only capital we want. I hope, however, that German capital is not only directed toward Germany but also toward Poland. However, it is understandable that the Germans think of themselves primarily during the first stage; one cannot blame them for this.

[DER SPIEGEL] The German-Polish border treaty will soon be concluded. After the recognition of the Oder-Neisse [Odra-Nysa] border....

[Mazowiecki] ...of the German-Polish border—this sounds more normal.

[DER SPIEGEL] Okay, after the recognition of this border, does Poland demand anything else from the united Germany?

[Mazowiecki] First of all, we have expectations which we also have toward other countries. But we are striving for particularly intensive cooperation with Germany, our big and important neighbor.

[DER SPIEGEL] Also for friendship?

[Mazowiecki] Of course, yes. I think that on the path toward friendship we first have to understand each other like normal neighbors and cooperate as intensively as possible.

[DER SPIEGEL] President Jaruzelski has just vetoed a law that should have made it easier to sell real estate to foreigners. Are the Poles worried that the Germans might buy up Poland?

[Mazowiecki] The issue of this veto is that the government is obligated to present an annual, exact report on such sales. The government must have a certain control of the purchase of real estate by foreigners, this is understandable and normal. So as not to leave your question unanswered: Of course, there are such fears among the population. They stem from the time before World War I, when the purchase of real estate, for instance in the area of Poznan, was part of the policy of Germanization.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are there individual cases of such land purchases again today?

[Mazowiecki] No. But, please, do not be surprised that there are such historical reminiscences. It takes some time to eliminate them.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you personally share these fears? Are you afraid that the Germans might come in masses to buy up Poland?

[Mazowiecki] I want a very intensive, very good economic cooperation. But I have to take into consideration the concerns and fears that exist. I also have to take into consideration statements that are made in your country. One must be determined to beware of exaggerations in this connection.

[DER SPIEGEL] For the future treaty on German-Polish relations, the German side wants to better protect the rights of the German minority in Poland. Is your government ready for this?

[Mazowiecki] I would like to ask a question in return: Has Poland broken any of its promises made in the German-Polish statement on the question of the minority a year ago?

[DER SPIEGEL] This cannot be verified down to the last detail.

[Mazowiecki] But generally?

[DER SPIEGEL] Generally, it was okay.

[Mazowiecki] You see!

[DER SPIEGEL] How far can the rights of the German minority in your country go?

[Mazowiecki] Questions of minority are regulated by a sovereign country itself, by taking international law into consideration, and that for all minorities together. I think that you would not make any special regulations, either, just for one minority or the other.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why not?

[Mazowiecki] We in Poland no longer ignore the problems of the minorities in the country. We want to give all these minorities their cultural rights, including the right to form associations. In the German-Polish statement, which I mentioned, this was also formulated—for both sides. This means that the FRG commits itself to treating the poles in the same way as the Poles treat the Germans.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would you permit a German party in Poland?

[Mazowiecki] In Poland there is the general freedom to form political parties. However, one must not forget that in the past the German parties in Poland had the goal of separating certain areas from Poland. This memory still burdens today's generation. Together we must bear this in mind and develop our cooperation on bases that serve friendship and our coming closer together, but not separation. We want to put an end to bad traditions.

[DER SPIEGEL] You yourself also have a problem with minorities—that of the hundreds of thousands of Poles on the other side of your eastern border: in Lithuania, Belorussia, and in the Ukraine. If these states separate completely from the Soviet Union, will then a movement among the Poles living there demand unification with Poland?

[Mazowiecki] We are of the view that the border problems in Europe have been settled, and that one should not undermine this. This would lead to inconceivable complications in many regions.

[DER SPIEGEL] In the West it is feared that greater misery in the Soviet Union might drive millions of people to uncontrolled flight to the West. Such an East-West pressure would hit Poland first. Are you afraid of this?

[Mazowiecki] Anything is possible in this unquiet world. But I do not know whether there is really a danger in this dimension. Because, basically, people want to live in their own country and develop it better.

[DER SPIEGEL] But if they lose their belief in it?

[Mazowiecki] Then a certain degree of emigration certainly has to be expected. Nevertheless, we should not frighten each other with unpleasant prospects but work to help the societies in these countries to master their crises themselves.

[DER SPIEGEL] The Czechoslovaks keep their border with Poland practically closed. In the end will every country from West to East isolate itself from the others?

[Mazowiecki] I hope that the border with the CSFR has been closed only temporarily, like other borders. We are in favor of abolishing compulsory visas and hope that

this will be done. Either we want to go to Europe together or we want to isolate ourselves.

[DER SPIEGEL] How do you intend to prevent Poles from moving en masse to the West in the future to look for work there, which would cause defensive reactions in the West?

[Mazowiecki] It is very difficult to prevent covert emigration. Compulsory visas, in any case, do not do this. The German Embassy in Warsaw issues 1.5 million visas per year. The abolition of visas would permit us to take one big step toward each other.

[DER SPIEGEL] You are right in the middle of the election campaign for the office of state president. Your greatest rival is Lech Walesa. Why do you want to prevent him from becoming president?

[Mazowiecki] After a very long and very difficult period of consideration, I decided to register my candidacy. I think it is right to defend the vision of democracy which I have advocated during the one year as head of government and which might be threatened otherwise.

[DER SPIEGEL] Thus, Walesa would not be able to solve this task as president like you?

[Mazowiecki] You know that for some months we have been very much attacked because of essential elements of our policy. This kind of criticism alone answers your question.

[DER SPIEGEL] Walesa accuses you of being too lenient with the old communist nomenklatura and of taking too much time to introduce the market economy. What do you say?

[Mazowiecki] I want to make everything better, quicker, and more efficient. But if a vehicle goes too fast, it may topple easily.

[DER SPIEGEL] And the passengers are dead?

[Mazowiecki] At least they are affected.

[DER SPIEGEL] In the past you were very close to Walesa. Now you are the only challenger who might challenge Walesa's election. Does this have consequences for your personal relations?

[Mazowiecki] Not on my part.

[DER SPIEGEL] And on his part?

[Mazowiecki] We have met twice over the past two or three mo. .s. Even though the discussion was harsh, it was like in the past.

[DER SPIEGEL] Twice you made peace, twice it was broken by Walesa.

[Mazowiecki] This is not a question but a statement—a statement by you.

[DER SPIEGEL] The latest polls show that the majority of Poles would prefer Mazowiecki as president, but the majority of Poles think that Walesa will win the elections. Has he already won?

[Mazowiecki] No.

[DER SPIEGEL] You expect good chances?

[Mazowiecki] Yes.

[DER SPIEGEL] Walesa is considered a popular hero, his populist talk goes down well by workers and peasants. What do you have to counter him?

[Mazowiecki] I have not lost my respect for Walesa and his merits. But what I think of his ideas about presidency and democracy is a different matter. I am not in favour of making promises to the people which one cannot keep. I am confident that the majority, the sensible Poles, understand this.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would Walesa's election be a national disaster for Poland?

[Mazowiecki] This question is very drastic, I would like to answer less drastically. Because no matter what, I am talking of a man with whom I worked together for 10 years. I personally do not fear that Walesa would conjure up the danger of a dictatorship. But I fear a certain chaos. And I fear that the things we have achieved for the people during this year of patience will be lost.

[DER SPIEGEL] Mazowiecki always just appeals to patience, many Poles say.

[Mazowiecki] It is not true that I only appeal to patience and not also to the engagement of the people. And the degree of engagement of the Poles is not that low. When only 42 percent went to the local elections in Poland, this was criticized. But then there were the elections in Hungary with a turnout of only 29 percent. If you look at the difficulties in other countries, we are not that bad off, either. Of course, I want even greater engagement by the people. Of course, I want the feeling for the scope of the changes to spread in every small town and I want privatization to take place more quickly. In this respect, our plan is very bold, but for its implementation an enormous amount of legislative work had to be done first.

[DER SPIEGEL] You think that Polish society can be activated further?

[Mazowiecki] Yes, in three fields: through more strongly structured political parties, not through some groups that rise like comets and are then extinguished; then through local self- administration; and, finally, through privatization.

[DER SPIEGEL] Both here and in Hungary, people were allowed to vote in free elections for the first time after over 40 years. However, they made astonishingly little use of this right. What is the reason for this?

[Mazowiecki] First of all, people are no longer used to taking things into their own hands after 45 years. Second, in view of life's hardships, people concentrate on their private lives. Third, local elections are meeting with little interest in many countries.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your economic balance sheet is not unfavorable in a certain respect. You have reduced inflation, and there were no major strikes. Despite this fact, profiteers seem to be the only ones who profit from the economic reform, and there is still no economic upswing in sight. What is most urgently needed?

[Mazowiecki] In the GDR, 60 percent of all enterprises are allegedly bankrupt or on the verge of bankruptcy. However, we have no second Poland we can rely on, like the GDR, which can rely on a second Germany. We must do everything by ourselves. We must reorganize our unprofitable large enterprises, for example.

[DER SPIEGEL] The communists wanted to close down these "dinosaurs" already two years ago. Why has this not happened to this very day?

[Mazowiecki] It is not so easy to close them down without risking a tremendous increase in the unemployment rate. However, there are also signs of an economic upswing.

[DER SPIEGEL] Where?

[Mazowiecki] In September, production increased seven percent from August. In private enterprises, the production growth reached even 30 percent. As a matter of fact, presidential elections are taking place at a time when the serious consequences of the fight against inflation have become a burden for people.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you want to say that the economic decline has hit the lowest point, or is the decline continuing?

[Mazowiecki] I would make the following cautious statement: There are signs that we have reached the lowest point. However, one cannot be certain.

[DER SPIEGEL] From what country do you expect financial aid?

[Mazowiecki] From all countries. I believe that Germany is a very important partner here.

[DER SPIEGEL] When assuming office you said that you were assuming your tasks as a "patriotic obligation." If the patriot Mazowiecki loses the presidential elections, what will he do?

[Mazowiecki] In a democratic society it is normal for every politician to accept the people's decision and to pursue constructive policies in the opposition, if this is necessary.

[DER SPIEGEL] Opposition leader Mazowiecki?

[Mazowiecki] We will see.

[DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for the interview.

Walesa Campaign Officer on Support, Projections

AU0411153890 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 30 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Tomasz Stankiewicz, chief of the Lech Walesa Election Campaign Bureau in Warsaw, by Zofia Zdrojkowska; place and date not given: "To Bank on Walesa Is To Bank on Democracy"]

[Text] [Zdrojkowska] I see that you are still in the process of moving in.

[Stankiewicz] We just opened a couple of days ago. Jacek Merkel, who Walesa appointed head of the Gdansk Election Campaign Bureau, asked me to organize a Warsaw branch of the bureau. We will shortly open reception rooms—on the ground floor of the same building, that is, at No. 85 Marszalkowska Street—where we will receive everyone who supports Lech Walesa and wants to help him win the elections. We will also provide information, and answers and explanations for the questions that are troubling voters. Our aim is to bring together the supporters of the "Solidarity" chairman; people who may not subscribe to a clear-cut political course and who do not identify with any party, but who are ready to vote for Walesa as the candidate who is most suited for the office of president of the Republic of Poland.

[Zdrojkowska] There already are various political organizations in Warsaw that are canvassing for Lech Walesa's candidacy.

[Stankiewicz] We know about that. They are setting up their own election committees and are working independently. It is our job to assist them and to work together with them.

[Zdrojkowska] What reason do people who support Walesa give for wanting to vote for him?

[Stankiewicz] It seems natural. After all, for 10 years, people would chant and would often be taking a risk if they did so: "We want Lech, not Wojciech," "Lech Walesa," and "Solidarity." We want "Solidarity" and its leader, who led us down a peaceful road to success, to take us to the end of that road. It is simply a continuation of our life, of our last ten years of work. We want to see things through to the end together with Lech. That is one of the reasons. The second reason concerns the program. The program is clear and obvious, because it has been around for some time. It is the program of the entire "Solidarity" movement, and the main goals are democracy and a market economy.

[Zdrojkowska] At the present time there is surely no party or grouping that would not write democracy on its banners. The question is how do we arrive at democracy. That is surely the point at issue and the whole problem.

[Stankiewicz] I agree! Achieving democracy is all the more difficult, because this process is taking place within a postcommunist system, and, therefore, within a system that is prone to dictatorship, because political parties, the institutions in this nascent democracy still have a very weak form, and economic structures are still centralized to a significant degree (for example, 80 percent of industry is still in the hands of the state apparatus). There is a danger that the person who wins powers will, at the same time, have an enormous advantage over his opponents and rivals through the state apparatus and state owned property. This advantage may make it tempting for someone to seize all power for himself. It is a dangerous temptation.

[Zdrojkowska] So, we have to be very alert to this danger. It is something that Walesa is keenly aware of, and he is trying to prevent it from happening by forcing through the principle of pluralism, that is, democracy. I am surprised that this is something that people fail to notice and they charge that Walesa is seeking to destroy democracy. It something that only his inveterate opponents, enemies can claim.

[Stankiewicz] I am afraid of a situation in which a single, cohesive grouping would assume complete power. I am afraid of, for example, a disciplined left-wing grouping being formed around the chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Club, with the majority of its members being drawn from the "roundtable" circles, a group that now makes up the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD], with which the prime minister has recently formed an alliance and whose strength is also to a large extent derived from the support of post-communist groupings. If the entire state apparatus were to fall into the hands of that kind of cohesive grouping before large state-owned assets are sold off and before institutions protecting democracy are developed, then—irrespective of the intentions of these people—their acquisition of total power would make it tempting to exercise control over the whole country. It is a dangerous temptation and it is something to be feared.

[Zdrojkowska] That is why it has to be clearly and repeatedly stated that Lech Walesa's campaign for the Presidency is not a campaign for a particular office, or about power, but about Poland's institutional character and about its future.

[Stankiewicz] Why do we trust Walesa in this struggle over Poland? We trust him, because he is not creating some "cadre" of his own around himself. Essentially, he started out in the campaign for the Presidency alone. He was not at the head of any grouping, he does not control any party, nor does he control the program, the finances, or personnel of any party. He is chairman of the trade union, but everyone knows that if he becomes president, then the union will lose out to a large degree, because trade union democracy is so strong that it will not permit anyone from outside to influence it. Walesa is going ahead alone, and he does not have a group of people subordinated to him, but only sympathizers, people who like him, people who support him. On the other hand, ROAD has for many years had a cadre that has proven itself. That is why a victory for ROAD could pose a serious threat to democracy.

[Zdrojkowska] I would like to say once again that Walesa is not destroying democracy, but, on the contrary, defending it.

[Stankiewicz] If someone thinks about Poland seriously and is for the introduction of democracy, then he has to bank on Walesa, otherwise he would be tying a noose around his own neck. There is no alternative.

[Zdrojkowska] It is similar to what is happening about the transformation of the economy into a market one. It is something that the government often talks about, but its actions do not always tend in that direction....

[Stankiewicz] When Mazowiecki became prime minister with Walesa's support, he began to implement a program that we in "Solidarity" accepted. The government's program was our program, but later we began to be concerned, because we noticed that pace of economic change was slowing. The prime minister began to turn away from Lech Walesa and toward the so-called secular left—a socialist grouping that was cautious about privatization, which is a natural reaction on the part of people on the left and socialists. It is a grouping that includes some of the key actors in the "round table," people who even despise private property, without which there can be no true market economy, there can be no Western style capitalist economy. If Mazowiecki were to win the election, then he would behave as an ally of this very grouping, the one with which he has associated himself. We do not believe that he will work to introduce such changes rapidly and consistently, and that worries us. That is why I think that everyone who really wants Poland to have a market economy, should vote for Walesa!

[Zdrojkowska] I am dismayed that many people do not understand all of this and may go to vote without being completely aware of what the situation is or having misunderstood it.

[Stankiewicz] I realize that the political arrangement that was the product of the "roundtable" is not understood all that well by society. Relations within the opposition are unclear and programs of individual groupings have not fully crystallized. Society does not always realize precisely what the issues are. This is an effect of the "roundtable" accord, which assumed that society would not be told the whole truth. In addition, the present information system possesses a monopoly character, that is, it is a government system.

In all seriousness, I can say now that our opponents already have an information dictatorship in their hands. Editorial staffs that come out wholly in support of Walesa are in a definite minority. For example, our attempts to get through to the press with the news that our bureau had already opened—through PAP and by

contacting newspapers directly—encountered a wall of silence. We have to thank the "Solidarity" weekly for the fact that society knows of our existence.

[Zdrojkowska] We did not receive any kind of communique from PAP, although we have been pleased to publish one. I am pleased that readers will have an opportunity to read this interview.

[Stankiewicz] After all, we, Walesa supporters, do not even have our own daily paper, which would enable us to provide information and set out our point of view. It really is surprising that the we have ended up in a situation in which the "Solidarity" movement chairman does not have a daily newspaper that unequivocally supports him and only him.

[Zdrojkowska] But is SLOWO POWSZECHNE not actually doing that....?

[Stankiewicz] Of course, we notice and appreciate what your paper is doing, but SLOWO POWSZECHNE does not actually belong to us....

[Zdrojkowska] Propaganda always has an effect. That is surely something that we can be sure of after that past 45 years. So, will all of this not weaken Walesa's position and have a negative impact on the election results?

[Stankiewicz] I do not think that it will. Propaganda always does have an effect, and has been influencing the intelligentsia above all, who accuse Lech of not being able to speak. That is nonsense. No one can talk to the masses as well as Walesa can. Until now those people have never listened to anyone as much as they have listened to him. He is simply a master of the spoken word and is understood by ordinary people.

It is a fact that some members of the intelligentsia have succumbed to the propaganda being spread by Walesa's opponents. Why? I myself fail to understand how this can be possible. They spent ten years talking about their love of Lech, about the necessity of feelings of friendship between the intelligentsia and the workers, about the close bond (particularly the left-oriented intelligentsia talked of their friendship for Lech, the worker). The ideals were common ones. Then suddenly, over a period of three months, some people discarded those ideals. What happened? That is a question that they should ask themselves. It is not Lech that has changed. He is the same person that he used to be. It is they who have changed!

The election results will not be determined by the votes of some faction within the intelligentsia, which is ultimately numerically small, but by all Poles, and they—and deep inside I am convinced of this—will vote for Walesa.

[Zdrojkowska] So, you believe that he will win?

[Stankiewicz] I cannot even imagine there being any other outcome.

[Zdrojkowska] Thank you.

Walesa Addresses Election Rally in Rzeszow

AU0511173190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3-4 Nov 90

[Jan Forowicz report: "Lech Walesa in Rzeszow"]

[Text] "As president—or in some other role—I intend to travel around the country, listen to what you have to say, and encourage you to be watchful and to make money. Today, above everything we need managers, honest workers, and businessmen." This was the essence of the majority of the replies given by Lech Walesa at his meeting with the Rzeszow electorate on 2 November at the Rzeszow Hall. Only those people who were in possession of the special invitations that had been previously distributed in Rzeszow's main factories were admitted.

"It is untrue to say that in this election campaign I have not presented a detailed presidential program. To provide details of such a program is like trying to purchase furniture for one's house before you even know what that house will look like. The president should only provide a direction and a true view on the democratic development of the country, but only society can shape and correct this democratic development," stated the presidential candidate.

Lech Walesa once again repeated his opinion on the Balcerowicz program: "The program has brought certain results, but one cannot permit the wholesale closure of factories and necessary shops and so forth. The program succeeded, because you all agreed to have money taken away from you. The fate of Balcerowicz's program, however, now depends on your participation in the economic process and your exercise of control over authorities to ensure that they take decisions that reflect the will of the nation."

After the meeting, there was an unwelcome surprise waiting for the people leaving the hall, namely, municipal transport workers had gone on strike.

On 2 November, Lech Walesa also visited Mielec and the village of Wysoka Glogowska.

Hall Elected Democratic Right Forum Leader

LD0411014490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Cezary Orzech report from Katowice]

[Excerpts] [Orzech] In Katowice, the Forum of the Democratic Right has met. That group brings together liberals, Christian Democrats, and conservatives. Mr. Aleksander Hall [minister with responsibility for contacts with political parties, who has resigned to run Mazowiecki's presidential campaign] and Tadeusz Syryjczyk [minister of industry] are leaders of the group.

What persuaded you to come to Katowice? What are your aims and tasks here? What do you want to achieve?

[Begin Hall recording] It is a very important thing at the moment for political parties to form. It must also take place, I would say, on the right side of the political spectrum. The Forum of the Democratic Right is a group with a right-wing character, but also explicitly declaring support for Tadeusz Mazowiecki in the coming presidential elections. This meeting is supposed to confirm the statute, elect its authorities, and to outline, specify more exactly, the political platform for the coming weeks and months. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Announcer] As an addendium to that report: Aleksander Hall was elected as chairman of the Forum of the Democratic Right. A political council with 20 members was also elected.

Jastrebski Nominated for Voivoda of Warsaw

LD0511152190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki nominated Bodgan Jastrebski for the post of Warsaw voivoda, thereby opening the sixth session of the self-management assembly of the Warsaw voivodship.

I wish to underline the desire and the will of the government, the prime minister said, for close and good cooperation with self-managements. I appreciate the autonomy of self-managements and I will protect them from all attempts to limit them.

Council of Ministers Discusses Socioeconomic Plan

LD0611015690 Warsaw PAP in English 2144 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Nov—The Council of Ministers held a meeting chaired by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki today to discuss the provisions of the economic-social policy for 1991, retirement and disability pensions as well as tax reform and other bills.

The Polish economy is significantly advanced in introducing market mechanisms and institutions, according to the government. The social cost of the program of stabilization and systemic changes is at the same time considerable. It is estimated that in 1990 the national income will drop by some 15-17 percent, mainly owing to a drop in industrial output in the socialized sector. The collision of an economy based on opposing conditions with rules of the market economy in the first quarter of this year resulted in an exceptionally deep collapse of the to-date structures of production and commerce. Nonetheless, as early as the 2nd quarter the fall in production stopped deepening with the first signs of economic growth surfacing in July. The latter were manifested in a rise in industrial output in the successive months of the 2nd half of the year, rise in real wages and exports.

The Council of Ministers also discussed the respective aspects of general plans. About 150-200 large and medium-sized enterprises as well as a big number of small enterprises will be privatized in 1991. Selected state assets will continue to be sold to individuals and legal persons. The commercialization of state enterprises by changing some of them into joint stock companies of the state treasury, to begin in 1991, will facilitate further privatization.

The government will pursue a liberal tariff policy and continue the suspension of customs fees introduced in the second half of this year into 1991, till the introduction of a completely new liberalized tariff system. The state will keep on protecting farming production through tariffs while liberalizing imports of the remaining kinds of products. Promotion of exports will be boosted.

There are chances of Poland's foreign debt being reduced or rescheduled over a long time period.

The document on "The Provisions of the Economic-Social Policy for 1991" adopted tentatively by the Council of Ministers will be tabled to the Sejm (lower house) which will review it along with the next year's draft budget law.

The Council of Minister discussed new principles of determining the volume of retirement and disability payments. The government decided to stop legal proceedings on this matter as the bill proposed by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy was criticized by both the recepients and the employers. Labour Minister Jacek Kuron said he would dwell upon the matter in detail during an address to the Sejm. The Council of Ministers adopted a positive stand on the valorization of pensions for people over 80.

Later, members of the Council of Ministers discussed the final, key elements of the reform of the fiscal system.

The Council of Ministers adopted a draft of the law on tax on goods and services and a draft of the law on local taxes and fees.

The Council of Ministers heard a report of the minister of foreign affairs on a meeting of six states-members of the Warsaw Pact held in Budapest on Nov. 3 and on the outcomes of Polish-German negotiations held in Warsaw on Oct. 30-31.

Senate Agenda for 9 Nov Session Published

LD0511153690 Warsaw PAP in English 1443 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Nov—The Presidium of the Polish Senate decided to call a meeting of the upper chamber of parliament on November 9. The agenda of the meeting is to include, among other things:

—Senate's stand on the law on the return of property lost by trade unions and social organizations in result of, the introduction of martial law.

—Senate's stand on the law on the amendment to the law on the election of the president of the Republic of Poland.

—Senate's stand on the law on the amendment to the law on duties and rights of deputies of the Sejm (lower chamber).

—Senate's stand on the law on communications.

—Senate's legislative initiative—a draft law on the pronouncing as void of the sentences passed in respect to persons victimized for activities for independent and democratic existence of the Polish state.

Luxembourg Prime Minister Visits; Sees Mazowiecki

LD0511223490 Warsaw PAP in English 2146 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Nov—Prime Minister of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg Jacques Santer started his four-day official visit to Poland today. At the airport, Jacques Santer was greeted by Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

"During this visit I would like to discuss matters pertaining to the relations between our states and I hope that during Luxembourg's Presidency of the EC, Poland will be admitted," Santer told PAP's reporter.

Today, Premier Jacques Santer met with Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz. "We are holding concrete talks with Balcerowicz, as the minister of finances. We discussed matters pertaining to bilateral economic and financial cooperation. We would like to introduce such financial instruments which would encourage luxembourg enterprises to greater involvement in Poland.

Jacques Santer also held talks with Minister of Culture Izabella Cywinska. "Luxembourg wants to help us in the reconstruction of a Cistercian monastery in Lubiaz, Wroclaw Voivodship, where citizens of Luxembourg were kept prisoners during World War II. A delegation from Luxembourg will also cooperate with us in the preparation of a CSCE seminar on the culture of European countries to be held in Krakow at the end of May or the beginning of June next year," Cywinska said.

In the evening, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki hosted a dinner in honour of the Luxembourg guest. Mazowiecki and Santer delivered speeches, saying among other things:

Tadeusz Mazowiecki: "Poland wishes to become a full-fledged member of the European Community as soon as possible. We have already applied for the status of an associated country. We hope for comprehensive cooperation in international fora and for the sympathy of Luxembourg in supporting Poland's initiatives aimed at establishing lasting and versatile bonds between Poland and Europe."

Jacques Santer: "I shall not speak up for a prompt incorporation of reviving democracies into the Community as this would be unrealistic. However, the Community should open the road for such situations through proper cooperation. The agreement on association which Poland will negotiate with the community aims in this direction and I would be happy if the 'second generation' negotiations of the agreement could be started in the time when the community will be presided over by Luxembourg.

During a meeting with Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, secretary general of the Conference of Poland's Episcopate, Jacques Santer was interested in the relations between the state and the church and the current issues related to the reinstatement of religious lessons at schools.

Answering the premier's questions concerning the relations between the Catholic Church and other Christian and non-Christian religions, particularly Judaism, the archbishop pointed to the ecumenical teaching of church documents and their materialization in Poland. The archbishop pointed also to the fact that Poland has always been a multi-national and multi-religious country while Judaism and Judaic culture are inseparably linked with Polish culture.

1,200 Illegally Cross CSFR Border at Cieszyn

LD0511200790 Warsaw PAP in English 1805 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Nov—About 1,200 Poles, some of them being intoxicated, illegally crossed the Czechoslovak-Polish border in Cieszyn on Nov. 2, customs officers reported. The Polish frontier guards were not able to stop the attacking crowd which pushed the border barrier down.

According to eyewitnesses, the reason for such behaviour on the part of the Poles returning from Czechoslovakia was the excessively slow and detailed Czechoslovak customs control which made the nervous crowd decline to cross the border without waiting for the passport and customs checking.

Soviet Appeal To Cease Nuclear Tests Backed

AU0511194590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1649 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 5/11/1990—Romania's Parliament welcomes with great interest the initiative of the USSR Supreme Soviet to launch an appeal for the cessation of all nuclear tests, reads that document approved by the Assembly of Deputies in its November 5 session after it had been adopted by the Senate on October 30, 1990.

The document expresses the conviction that the intervention of the other countries' parliaments and of the world public opinion will determine the states making nuclear tests to take measures for the total and general cessation of nuclear tests and for the concluding of agreements to guarantee the accomplishment of that desideratum, a major imperative of our times.

Call for Balkan Contribution to Peace, Security

AU0511194690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1758 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 5/11/1990—The Foreign Policy Commission of the Romanian Parliament proposes to the similar institutions of the other Balkan countries the organization of a meeting, either in Bucharest or in another capital city in the first decade [ten-day period] of December to discuss tangible modalities through which parliamentarians can stimulate the cooperation of the states in the area, to enhance their contribution to building a general climate of European peace and security.

This suggestion is formulated in a letter of the Commission Chairman Corneliu Manescu, approved in the Monday session of the Assembly of Deputies.

It should be mentioned that a proposal has been recently launched concerning the setting up of the forum for security and cooperation in the Balkans, which takes over and develops the traditions of the relations in the zone, placing them in the context of the new stage of the CSCE.

PNT-cd Appeal To Stop Moldavian Separatism

AU0511212690 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 26 Oct 90 p 1

["Communique" of National Peasants Christian Democratic Party (PNT-cd)]

[Text] The leadership of the National Peasants Christian Democratic Party is following the development of events in the Moldavian Republic with interest and concern.

This concern is justified by the undeniable fact that the population in Moldavia across the Prut River is of the same origin and has the same creed as the Romanians; they speak the same language and have the same history and culture.

The events there directly affect the fraternal feelings of the Romanian people.

In accordance with the latest reports—especially those in the Appeal of the Council of the People's Front of Moldavia of 21 October 1990—the situation is very serious. The appeal emphasizes that reactionary forces, which are hostile to democratic reforms in the Moldavian Republic—realizing that they are losing influence—resorted to the former imperial weapon: instigating interethnic conflicts. The classical example of "divide and conquer" still proves its diabolic efficiency today. On 19 August and 2 September respectively, the so-called Gagauz and Trans-Dniesterian republics were proclaimed. To provide a legal framework for this illegitimate act, the separatists are preparing "elections" on 28 October in the so-called Gagauz republic and on 25 November in the Trans-Dniesterian republic.

Such attempts to distort historic and ethnic realities are particularly dangerous because:

1. They can lead to the creation of a state within the state by a minority which represents some three percent of the population. It is easy to imagine what would happen if all minorities—thousands of them in the 160 existing states—resorted to recklessly creating their own states. There would be general chaos and constant conflicts which would make normal social life impossible.

2. After a series of terrible injustices done to this country for 50 years, including splitting it into three parts—the annexation of Northern Bukovina and the counties in the south of Bessarabia and the Ukraine—there are once again attempts to dismember the forefathers' land. Thus, the norms of the international law in force, especially the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act on security and cooperation in Europe, are violated.

3. This provocation of the separatist leaders may cause unforeseeable responses and acts of violence endangering the stability and peace in this area in Europe. We have to be aware that the imminent danger of bloodshed exists. The whole responsibility rests on the leaders of the irresponsible separatists and on those who support them.

The PNT-cd expresses the conviction that the Soviet leadership and President Mikhail Gorbachev personally, whose contribution to the current positive democratization process in Eastern Europe is unanimously recognized and who is constantly backing the idea of the sovereignty of the union's republics, will use his whole authority to stop a completely illegal act—that is, the organization of so-called "elections" in some Gagauz villages which are an intrinsic and inalienable part of the territory of Moldavia.

We are sure that all political forces in Romania, including the Parliament and government, will back this appeal.

Leadership of the PNT-cd

Roman Meets Latin American Economic Official

AU0511194790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1939 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 5/11/1990—Monday, Prime Minister Petre Roman received Carlos Perez del Castillo, permanent secretary of the Latin American Economic System (LAES), now on a visit to Romania upon an invitation from the government.

During the interview the guest informed about the major economic objectives of the LAES.

Possibilities were discussed that Romania be granted the status of observer to allow it to implement economic development projects and programmes in Latin American states in domains in which it has a rich experience: resource capitalization, energy base development, transport a.o. [and others].

Government Protests 'Erroneous' BBC Reporting

AU0511194490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1935 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 5/11/1990—Romania's government expresses its disappointment and protests against another erroneous news item broadcast by the BBC on Saturday 3 November regarding consecutive actions of protest in University Square of Bucharest against the government's decision to liberalise the prices of basic foodstuffs, fuel and rents.

A communique of the press office stresses that the government maintained unchanged the retail prices for the population of energy, fuel and rents until the beginning of 1992 the subsidies at the 1990 level totalling 25 billion lei. As for basic foodstuffs, as well as some manufactured products and services, which hold a substantial share in the population's consumption, prices will rise within limits set by the government so that they should reflect, as accurately as possible, the influence of energy and raw materials price rises in the expenditure of the manufacturers meant to facilitate an ever more efficient activity enabling them to naturally cover the costs. With the basic foodstuffs the new prices remain unchanged at least one year all citizens, both employees and pensioners, benefiting from a fixed, tax-free compensation starting 1 January 1991.

Without contesting the actions of protest of several categories of the population, the press office reminds that on 3 November in University Square there was a pressure group that acted in an obviously provocative manner meant to generate unforeseeable reactions, generate a state of civic insecurity, instigating to disorder, completely barring the traffic in the area. Groups of persons from among demonstrators continued their provocative actions trying to seriously disturb the order of law and distort Romania's image abroad on the eve of the forthcoming all-European conference in Paris and our national day—which entailed the legitimate intervention of the order-keeping bodies to ensure stability, civic order and peace, as required by most of the population.

The serious, obviously deliberate distortion of reality in Romania by the BBC is all the more ununderstandable and blamable as most of the Romanian press and foreign press correspondents accredited to our country accurately covered the governmental price liberalisation measures and home developments, the communique reads in conclusion.

PNT-cd Delegation Leaves for Hungary

AU0611123690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0944 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/11/1990—A delegation of the National Christian Democratic Peasant Party (NPCDP) [PNT-cd] left for Budapest in the morning of 6 November. The visit of the delegation comprised of Corneliu Coposu, the party's president, Professor Gabriel Tepelea, vice-president, along with representatives of the party's young generation is in response to several visits paid to Romania by delegations of the Hungarian Democratic Forum which claim Christian democratic affiliation, like the National Peasant Party.

Senate Session Held; UDMR Threatens To Leave

AU0511211790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2058 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 5/11/1990—Monday's session of the Senate was marked by two moments which drew vivid comments.

The first was caused by the Bihor County senator, Ludovic Demeny, representative of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (MDUR) [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania—UDMR] who, in his address, insisted that the government clarify the situation of high school No. 3 of Bucharest where classes were supposed to be taught only in Hungarian. This came after senators had already voted against the government being asked any more questions that day.

Mr. Demeny threatened that, unless the government took due action within the next three days in order to solve the situation, the MDUR group of senators he represented would consider the opportuneness to further participate in Senate proceedings.

The matter being brought again into discussion caused loud protests among the majority group, as well as commotion in the audience. The president of that chamber, Alexandru Barladeanu, asked the senator to apply to the relevant bodies to settle the matter, underlining the threatening nature of the MDUR decision. "This is not the first time, Mr. Barladeanu said, when you promise to do it and actually keep your promise. How long will you go on threatening to leave the hall?

Maybe it suits you to leave. That is taking on a political implication which ought to be examined by the Senate."

The incident was to be partly clarified by the prompt intervention of MDUR senator, Geza Szocs, who stated that the topic broached by his colleague was the latter's personal idea and had not been discussed among his group.

In retaliation, and also as a personal idea, NSF [National Salvation Front—FSN] majority leader, Senator Vasile Vacaru, voiced his worry about the practice of the MDUR group to put order in the capital. He added he was afraid somebody had an interest to bring certain topics to public notice on the eve of a visit by a commission from the Council of Europe to Romania.

The second case was introduced by Senator Romulus Vulpescu, who drew attention to what he called a crime against the national patrimony—six works by Brancusi being removed from the country through some arrangement with the Ministry of Culture. Subsequently, the Senate requested that the minister of culture be urgently heard.

Iliescu Interviewed on Current Political Issues

AU0511101490 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 2 Nov 90 p 18

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Josef Riedmiller; place and date not given: "This Was a Historical Injustice"]

[Text] [Riedmiller] Mr. President, last year Romania was the only country of the former socialist bloc to go through a bloody revolution when the old regime was replaced. Today, however, both at home and abroad there is the impression that not much has changed, that the old structures have been preserved. Is this impression correct?

[Iliescu] This impression is incomplete and not quite correct. There is a certain inertia. Certain structures continue after every revolution, but the impression is not correct in the way you described.

Regarding the Romanian developments here, they are radically different, as you stressed, from everything else that happened in this part of Europe. While in the other countries this entire process of restructuring and renewal started from the inside of the system, through factors which were active inside the system, this was not possible in Romania. From this standpoint, the upheaval and the renewal in Romania were the most radical compared with what happened in other countries. Already in December, during the night of 22 December, practically the entire political system, which had existed until that time, was completely abolished, including the instruments and the institutions for the subjugation of the people. The people who talk of the reminiscences, the survival, or the continuation of old structures refer to the further existence of people who are still in the state apparatus and were also there in the past. It is impossible, however, to replace all persons who worked within the state and local administrations from one day to the next. This cannot be compared with the political system and the factors of the political leadership. From one day to the next we changed from a one-party system to a democratic multiparty system. Within less than five months (after the revolution—the editor) we had elections. We elected a two-chamber Parliament; we have introduced the system of the separation of powers in the state; we have established the office of president and elected a president as a cohesive factor for the three powers in the state and as a general representative factor, which is removed from the political party structures within society and stands outside these structures. We have eliminated all restrictions of the people's free expression. The freedom of expression, both orally and in writing in newspapers or in magazines, is now practically unrestricted.

[Riedmiller] One of the accusations, however, is that the Securitate still has great influence; that of the about 40,000 former Securitate members only about 10 percent have been eliminated.

[Iliescu] This is political diversion of the entire domestic opposition press, is constantly dug out by a large part of the foreign press, and does not have any real basis at all. We should make things clear once and for all. The Securitate was the most important instrument of oppression of the past regime. It not only had the means for constant observation and monitoring of practically the entire population, it also had the means to detain persons and to interrogate them. It even had military units, which were there to intervene if necessary. The entire institution was completely abolished during the night of 22 December. The leading forces of Securitate were then arrested; they are in detention pending trial and some of them are already on trial. All the military units were abolished and then taken over by the Army. These were all short-term soldiers; they were young people who did their military service. The border troops, for instance, were subordinate to the Securitate at that time. Now, of course, the border troops are part of the Army. The Interior Ministry took over all the buildings of the Securitate where the people were arrested and detained. The Romanian Intelligence Service, which was established in March and April, is an institution which has nothing in common with the old Securitate. It does not have any right to arrest anyone and to put him in detention pending trial. Furthermore, it does not have any means of oppression, military units, or anything like this. The Intelligence Service is comparable to that of any other modern state. It is subject to parliamentary control and provides the various organs which serve counterintelligence with the necessary information. People, however, are rather distrustful; this general distrust has actually been taken over from the time of the old regime. Today we still have to cope with this general distrust.

[Riedmiller] There are still various theories about what happened last December and how the Ceausescu regime was eliminated. Was it a popular uprising, a party putsch, a military putsch, or something involving all these things?

[Iliescu] The way in which these problems are discussed shows that it is sometimes more difficult to write history than to live through it because all the subjective factors are included in the assessment of the various developments. Generally, as one of our proverbs says, most heroes turn up after the war. There are many who would like to have certain qualities attributed to them today or certain merits which they actually did not gain at all. The truth is that Romanian society was in a profound crisis, which became increasingly worse—namely, a crisis which had both economic and political reasons and which accumulated great dissatisfaction. There were many forms in which this dissatisfaction was expressed. There were people who tried to put up certain concepts to get out of this situation and this dissatisfaction. It was not possible, however, to carry through the things that the people wanted to do in Romania because the system of oppression under Ceausescu's dictatorship was very harsh. The phenomena of the crisis, nevertheless, accumulated. The internal tension of the system steadily increased, and the only solution at that time was the popular uprising that led to the total abolition of the old political structures. The attempt to put up certain scenarios now, according to which all these developments were supposed to take place because certain groups or small groups prepared various things, serves the purpose of elevating certain aspects above their true value. The way these things happened in Romania has both positive and negative aspects. Because of the radical nature of this upheaval, the dynamism of the further development of all the process was increased very much. At the same time, however, this was also the source of the weaknesses of the new structures that had developed and that had to be improvised. At the same, time there was a certain psychological situation of all the factors which take their part in maintaining public order. This led to the fact that during the election period, when the political confrontation escalated a great deal, the forces for the maintenance of public order were not able to prevent the outbreaks of violence, of violence in the streets.

[Riedmiller] The "National Salvation Front" [FSN], however, was established very quickly. One had the feeling that there was indeed a very good organization behind all the events.

[Iliescu] The FSN does not have a very solid organizational structure even today. It was total improvisation. The term "Front" was then founded immediately; it corresponded to the moment. In those December days the National Salvation Council at the national level and then the National Salvation Councils in the various districts were the only structures which took over the task of leading the country onwards. At that time there was a general total support for these National Salvation Councils. This was the expression of support by the entire population for the abolition of the old system and for an attempt to find a new start in a new society. This was the expression of support by the people for this platform, which was presented to the entire country by the Council of the FSN, also concerning the democratic political development of the country. Then there was the transition in the economic area toward a market economy; in the social area, the interests of the broad strata of the population were defended during this difficult situation. There was also the safeguarding of fundamental human rights in Romanian society and then, of course, the opening up in the field of foreign policy. These were the main elements of this political platform of the FSN, which was then supported by all the people.

[Riedmiller] Mr. President, you have worked in the Communist movement since you were 14 years old; you had very high party functions in Romania—you also lost them again. How would you describe your current political credo? Are you a Marxist, a Communist, or, perhaps, a Social Democrat?

[Iliescu] The entire social and historical experience of our county has proved that ideologies which tried to force certain preconceived patterns on a country or a people are not viable and disappear out of necessity. I and the nation have, therefore, moved away from these dogmatic points of view. All these dogmatic principles came from Marxism, but, above all, from the political practice. Thus, we have turned toward a practical, realistic approach to the actual situation of this country, both from the standpoints of its economic and social structure and from the standpoint of its resources. We have decided in favor of a democratic development of society to eliminate any kind of restrictions imposed on the expression of the people's opinion in the social and political field and to facilitate the establishment of an efficient economy. The issue is a market economy which is supposed to stimulate all kinds of initiative and responsibility on all levels. All this should be put together with a social program for the protection of the country's total, great social history. Of course, we proceed from the experiences of the advanced economic systems in the world today. We do not want to copy a specific model, this is not possible. Every country has to go through its own development and proceed from its own realities. Basically speaking, however, we are approaching the social democratic models of development without committing ourselves to a certain model.

[Riedmiller] Mr. President, which political direction among the many directions that have existed in Europe would you say you personally adhere to?

[Iliescu] I said before that for us it is difficult to commit ourselves to a certain model. In terms of ideas, there are several things in which we express our interest: in the practice of the Nordic and the Scandinavian social democracies, and also in the practice of Italy. There the interesting thing for us is the economic structure, where big companies exist alongside medium-sized and small companies, where various forms of ownership—from

private to cooperative—work together, and how the state intervenes in the economy there. We have interesting elements in Austria's experiences, and also in the FRG there are certain elements in the program of the FRG social democrats which interest us. We must, however, work with the fact that we do not have any Germans; we must make do with Romanians.

[Riedmiller] I will come back to the Germans later on. Mr. President, what is your explanation of the failure of the communist regimes in Eastern and Central Europe? Are there other factors in addition to the economic failure, which led to the collapse of these regimes?

[Iliescu] It is what I said at the beginning. The attempt to force certain mental patterns on the objective reality led to this failure—namely, the fact that the ideological mental patterns dominated the social and political practice. Yes, even very generous ideas which were contained in the programs, where happiness was supposed to be forced on the people, cannot be enforced in practice; they are doomed to failure. Then there is the fact that the role of the individual, the interests of the individual, and of every social group within the overall society were simply not taken sufficiently into consideration.

[Riedmiller] What is Romania's attitude toward the events in Moldavia? Do you expect advantages as a result of the turbulences there or do you fear that the conflicts there might spread to Romania?

[Iliescu] An entire complex of problems surfaces in these developments. The entire Soviet empire today is subjected to a certain amount of turbulence, and the national problem is one of the most difficult problems that has hit the Soviet state. This shows how profound the effects of the lack of respect for the national factor on the development of this state are. Regarding Bessarabia—after all, the issue is not only the Republic of Moldavia, but the entire region of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina—the way in which these ancient Romanian territories were integrated in this (Soviet—the editor) empire was a historical injustice.

[Riedmiller] The Germans were not quite uninvolved in this matter.

[Iliescu] Yes, but we have to judge today's situation in Europe objectively. We consider the solution of this problem as a longer process within the entire European continent. We are bound by certain international treaties and by the Helsinki Final Act. We think that the most correct approach to these problems is not to change all the borders in Europe because this is the basis for overall security and peace in Europe. Even though we express our solidarity with the fate of the Romanians in these territories, we think that the solution of their problems must be found within the now existing state structures in these territories. Part of the Romanians there are in the Republic of Moldavia, but part of them are in the Ukraine, in the southern and eastern part of Bessarabia. We cannot afford to adopt positions which would make existence for the people there very complicated and would also make the relations between our two states very complicated. It is in our interest to approach these problems realistically and to have good-neighborly relations with all our neighbors, especially with our biggest eastern neighbor.

[Riedmiller] On the basis of the current border?

[Iliescu] Of course!

[Riedmiller] Mr. President, over the past nine months, 90,000 Germans left Romania; about 100,000 Germans still remain in Romania. Why is it impossible to keep these people here in the country?

[Iliescu] We have to approach this situation realistically. There are no longer any political motives for their emigration. The only motivation is an economic one. They go to Germany because they hope to have a better life there, compared with the difficult economic situation in Romania. This transitional process, which we are presently undergoing, will entail a number of difficulties which will continue for some time. On the other hand, we would be very interested in having Romania's ethnic German population stay. We have taken a number of measures and we will continue to do so to encourage them to stay here. Their stay is also positive for agriculture and industry. Generally, they are very industrious, disciplined, and able people, and it is, in any case, a loss for us if they leave. It could be an important human factor in our further development, and in the development of intellectual and scientific life. I hope that many will return as soon as conditions have normalized here and the economy continues to develop.

[Riedmiller] Chancellor Kohl invited your Prime Minister Petre Roman to Bonn; Romania has sent an ambassador to NATO in Brussels, and this week a delegation of the World Bank arrived in Bucharest. Is this the end of Romania's quarantine and isolation?

[Iliescu] We do hope so!

[Riedmiller] Has this quarantine or this refusal to help caused great damage?

[Iliescu] We had difficulties, of course. We inherited a very difficult economic situation, and the people's living conditions are certainly not great. Everything became more complicated because of the Gulf crisis. The very strong drought also caused many difficulties in agriculture. In the near future we have to make great efforts to restructure the entire economy—above all, industry—to modernize the technical equipment in the most important industrial enterprises. All this must be done without active international cooperation and without loans by international banks. We cannot do this withour cooperation, without various joint ventures, for instance, ventures with well-known and technologically solid companies.

[Riedmiller] Mr. President, do you think that the measures taken by the Western countries toward Romania are justified or were they psychologically wrong?

[Iliescu] We expected the Western states with traditional democracies to have feelings of solidarity for a country that managed to get out of such a difficult situation and whose political forces are trying to get out of this situation. We expected this feeling to be one of active solidarity and not one in which reservations are voiced, conditions are posed, and they tell us what our democracy should be like.

Deputies Assembly Discusses Foreign Policy Acts

AU0511195190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1737 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 5/11/1990—After having met last week in the two chambers' joint session to debate the prime minister's report on the speeding up of reforms as well as in their standing commissions to examine several bills, the Assembly of Deputies gathered in plenum on Monday.

The agenda includes two foreign policy acts: the answer Romania's Parliament is to give to the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the end of all nuclear tests and the letter to be sent by the chairman of the Romanian Parliament's Foreign Policy Commission to his counterparts in the Balkan states.

This week the Assembly of Deputies is to debate also several bills on the government's organisation and functioning, the settlement of labour conflicts and the elimination of unfair competition.

In the first part of its Monday afternoon session, the Assembly of Deputies adopted the Romanian Parliament's message of response to the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the cessation of all nuclear tests, a document the Senate had adopted on October 30.

The deputies also adopted a letter addressed by the chairman of the Romanian Parliament's Foreign Policy Commission to his counterparts in the Balkan states.

The Assembly of Deputies started the debates of the bill on the government's organisation and functioning. This week's agenda also includes the debate of other normative acts such as those concerning the settlement of labour conflicts and the elimination of unfair competition.

In its Monday session, the lower house of the Parliament passed on to general and by article debates of the bill on the organization and operation of the government.

After controversies on the powers of the premier or of the executive as a whole in particular the law was passed with a majority of votes.

The proceedings in plenum of this chamber will focus this week on debates on other draft normative acts concerning inter alia the settlement of labour conflicts and elimination of unfair competition.

Proceedings will be resumed on Tuesday morning.

PNT-cd Files Charges Against Iliescu

AU0611141890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1304 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/11/1990—The case registered at the General Prosecutor's Office by the National Christian Democratic Peasant Party [PNT-cd] organisation of Tulcea County and reported by daily "ROMANIA LIBERA" is motivated by the "guilt of the said Ion Iliescu, Romania's elected president, to have called the miners in, which makes him the moral author of all the damage done by them."

Arguing that "his guilt is a matter of public knowledge, which is also supported by his having thanked the "terrorist miners" on their departure," Romania's prosecutor-general is requested to open criminal action against the president on the strength of Article 221 of the Code of Criminal Procedure.

The charges fall under Article 324 of the Criminal Code, it is specified.

PNL, PSL Merge To Strengthen Opposition

AU0511153490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1434 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 5/11/1990—"The merger between the Socialist Liberal Party [PSL] and the National Liberal Party (NLP) [PNL] was in line with my wish to strengthen opposition through unification," said Mr. Nicolae Cerveni, vice-chairman of the National Liberal Party, in an interview with the newspaper "DIMINEATA." Showing he considered that the historical parties and even the National Salvation Front were attractions to the other political groupings, Mr. Cerveni opined it was necessary to give up haughtiness and groundless resentment in order that "fundamental orientations making the basis of the Romanian political life may get a clear outline."

The NLP vice-chairman also referred to the government's report to Parliament expressing doubts as to its successful implementation, his arguments residing in the fact that as far as the application of reforms was concerned the government showed "lack of a political philosophy meeting today's relations." Furthermore, he stressed that fierce resistance was put up by the former communist structures, which were not replaced. "If the government wishes to lead the country in a successful manner it has the duty to espouse the philosophy of human rights," Mr. Cerveni also said.

As for the government's request to Parliament that it be granted greater attributes, the NLP vice-chairman said that "a government resulting such from firm victory in elections does not need special powers."

Demonstrations Against Government, President

AU0511194890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1930 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 5/11/1990—At 1700 hrs about 200-300 persons were in front of the Architecture Institute in the University Square who were chanting slogans against the government and the Romanian president.

The several order-keeping people could not prevent traffic blocking which took place at 1730.

At a short time after the traffic had been blocked in the University Square, the order-keeping people intervened and traffic resumed, but the protesters blocked it again at about 1815. This time order-keeping people no longer intervened.

Government Meeting With Trade Unions Noted

AU0511113490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] The government met with the leaders of big trade union centrals in Victoria Palace today. The meeting was attended on behalf of the government by Prime Minister Petre Roman, Anton Vatasescu, minister of state in charge of industrial and trade activities, Ion Aurel Stoica, minister of state in charge of the quality of life and social security, Finance Minister Teodor Stolojan, [name indistinct], state secretary at the Ministry of Labor and Social Security; and Iacob Jelencu, director in the Ministry of Finance.

On behalf of the trade unions, the meeting was attended by the leaders of the Inter-Trade Union Alliance, the National Free Trade Union Confederation of Romania, the Fratia Confederation, the Nonaligned Trade Union Confederation, the Hercules Confederation, and the General Union of Pensioners of Romania.

Prices, Market Economy Discussed

AU0511210890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2104 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 5/11/1990—Because the government's economic policy, which we consider a policy of national interest, will be contested and destabilizing actions and claims will continue, we shall resign, stated Prime Minister Petre Roman during the government-trade union organisations dialogue held in Bucharest on Monday.

The prices liberalization and the questions of transition to market economy were the subjects of that dialogue attended, besides the premier, by Ion Vatasescu and Ion Aurel Stoica, ministers of state, Teodor Stolojan, minister of finances. On behalf of the trade union organisations present were representatives of the Inter-Union Alliance, the National Confederation of Free Trade Union Organisations, the Fratia Confederation, the Convention of the Unaffiliated Trade Union Organisations, the Hercules Confederation, the Oltenia Miners' League, as well as of the Pensioners' National Union.

The representatives of the trade union organisations emphasised that they were backing in principle the economic reforms, among which prices liberalization, too, but they expressed their reserves over the moment of applying that measure. They declared in favour of reversing the priorities in those measures, the stress being laid firstly on privatization, on setting up flexible structures for a free play of prices. They appreciated that the current liberalization, in the conditions in which the state still controlled the whole production, meant in fact a rise of prices with negative effects on the living standard. In that context, the representatives of the trade union organisations engaged in the dialogue asserted that the protection measures suggested by the government would not be able to compensate for the rises in prices. They also considered that liberalization should have been preceded by other protection laws as well (such as the pay law, the unemployment law, the labour conflicts law).

Answering them, Premier Petre Roman underscored that liberalization affected only 20-25 percent of products, in which case the government's protection and subsidies prevented the living standard to worsen. That protection, Mr. Roman said, will act especially at the level of small pays.

As far as the pensioners are concerned, their representatives underscored, it is quite clear that their situation will be worsening. The 400-lei sum is very small taking into consideration the fact that 56 percent of the pensioners have up-to-2,000-lei pensions and more than half of them—even up-to-1,500-lei pensions, stated the representatives of the Pensioners' Union. In that context it was underscored that the attitude towards pensioners should be completely changed.

The measures of social security could be still discussed, Mr. Roman admitted, but a rise in pays and pensions is not possible because there is no money.

The dialogue—which lasted for four hours—is to be resumed in mid-November. A government-trade unions consultative commission was decided to be set up.

Prime Minister Explains Price Liberalization

AU0511183090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1617 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 5/11/1990—I, in my innermost self, the self of a man believing he has done his duty, hope I have the courage to tell the truth and to back the realistic, palpable and clear solution we have advanced. I believe the salient features of the political situation we live in, of the political and economic construction we erect must give public opinion, the population, the image of a government that works for the country and which assumes responsibility for its fate,

said Prime Minister Petre Roman in an interview granted to the director of the newspaper ADEVARUL.

His arguments for the price-liberalization drive—the lack of "financial resources for production and investment" and the "blocking" of the production mechanism because of the distortions caused by the false prices that were a practice in production. He also blamed the lack of attention to supply and demand, a process of negotiations that "becomes a reality." The current structure of state-run trade is a structure that runs counter to public interest and "we must oblige these gentlemen to assume responsibility for everything that trade means," the prime minister also said and added "state-run trade has created a segment of highly corrupted people, accustomed to the life of a louse on the back of a healthy animal." In connection with tax evasion, which may occur "within a trade proceeding according to principles of economic freedom, the prime minister referred to the creation of a "corps of financial comptrollers," whose attributes will be "comparable to those in force before the second world war," and which will be "militarized even."

In connection with the laws and normative acts intended to block corruption, Mr. Roman deplored the lack of an efficient system of protection and legal public order considering the existing one as "imperfect" and "insufficient," all the more so as the number of cases the Prosecutor's Office and courts of law have to look into has increased geometrically since the revolution, "even under such circumstances," Mr. Roman added, "the government adopted the law on the administrative law office."

The prime minister insisted on the "gradual" application of the price-liberalization drive, highlighting the social-protection components the government secures: Unchanged prices for heating, electricity, rents and staple foods, for which cash handouts are to be given starting January 1, and finally, of a number of products which will be indexed with the wages.

It is the prime minister's opinion that with the currency stock in January (standing at 1.2 billion) exhausted, the price-liberalization drive has to absorb part of the more than 300 billion lei in the hands of the population against products the economic worth of which is justly expressed by their prices—primarily durables, "which should be put on sale." In that context, a series of facilities were listed intended to attract that "immense capital"—housing construction, buying state-owned flats, transfer of trade and tourism funds and credit-granting in the small and medium industries.

The prime minister said that banknotes worth more than 100 lei would soon be issued to reflect the money in circulation but he said that a monetary reform was not at issue as "it would be an act with nefarious consequences on a large part of the population."

"If this money no longer represents an inflationary pressure and we manage to introduce it in an active area of the economy, we will take an extremely important step forward in the Romanian economy," Mr. Roman also stressed.

Concluding his interview, the Romanian prime minister opined that emphasis should be placed not only on the disadvantages of the liberalization of prices but also "on why we had to accept these disadvantages." "Never—not even during the election campaign—have we hidden the fact that the birth of a new economic structure in Romania is going to be painful. But in my turn, I shall repeat the question we all ask in the government: "Which is the alternative in the face of a dual pressure?"

Prime Minister Faces Bureaucratic Apparatus

AU0311191690 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 26 Oct 90 p 1

[Sorin Stefan article: "The Prime Minister Facing the Bureaucratic Apparatus"]

[Text] The prime minister recently said that the ever-growing shortages everywhere are not due to the slow take-off of the privatization process, but rather to the bureaucracy that is strongly opposing this process. Hence—as if it were necessary to repeat it—the obvious conclusion is that the renewal should have started there, with the profound restructuring of the apparatus of clerks, many of whom are corrupt and lack the appropriate training. The first great mistake of the current regime was assuming that its desire for change had been sincere, it did not understand an essential thing—namely, that restructuring must first be carried out from within, so that, on this well prepared ground, it can then proceed to outside changes. The second mistake was that it proposed—as the sole solution—incremental reform, which is quite far from the much more radical reforms currently under way in the other former communist countries. This attitude prevented the government from realizing the need for a radical change of the corrupt apparatus on which the previous regime relied. On the other hand, this very bureaucratic apparatus, on which the current regime is also consolidating its power, has opposed structural changes from the start. As a matter of fact, the bargain was quite simple: It gave its vote to the FSN [National Salvation Front] en masse, in return for the government turning a blind eye to its doings. Power interests, therefore, gained the upper hand over the general public interest; the government needed this apparatus to consolidate its political power. Whereas, from a political point of view, the regime initially chose to keep the old structures unaltered, the desperate situation in which the economy now finds itself requires—as a last measure—that the government rid itself of this very corrupt apparatus, whose existence is currently casting doubts over the government's chances of governing in actual fact.

A few months ago, when the regime was still lacking ideological hesitations of a totalitarian nature, the bureaucratic apparatus threw it a life preserver. Today, this very apparatus is an embarrassing weak point for

our rulers. If he is more interested in the well-being of this country rather than in the preservation of power at all costs, it is almost certain that Mr. Roman will immediately dismiss those who are turning into an unacceptable obstacle to the privatization process, a process which the prime minister seems increasingly inclined to pursue. We will obviously witness a new power struggle, less noisy this time, but as fiery as ever. At that point, Mr. Roman will have to stop relying on the former nomenklatura which is becoming increasingly desperate with each passing day, and will have to implement, in spite of sacrifices, certain programs which were actually initiated and supported by the opposition. Forced by circumstances to accelerate the implementation of the privatization process, the prime minister can only hope for a larger reception from the masses, even though the latter had been scared by his own obstructionist propaganda. If the government completely renounces the support it still enjoys from the corrupt bureaucracy, a support which can prove disastrous, it will also have to admit in the long run—in the face of ruthless economic realities—that the only way out is total support for the privatization process, without any kind of ideological barriers. If, on the contrary, it comes to the conclusion that ideology is more important than economic requirements, the government will reach a no-way-out situation, whereby it will be stifled by the very nomenklatura to which it offered protection. It will become a grotesque copy of that mythical bird which fed its offspring with its own blood; only in this particular case, the feeding will take place in the macabre laughter of the latter, which will accompany the death of the first.

Iliescu Calls For 'Constructive' Criticism

AU0211202090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1857 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/11/1990—President Ion Iliescu of Romania visited Bacau City on November 2, where he had interviews with executives of the plane enterprise, the pulp and paper mill, the ready-mades factory, as well as at the County Prefect's Office, where branch leaders of the political parties were also present.

The interviews proved the preoccupation to seek out solutions to the difficult and complex situations in the respective units as well as in other units in the county. The securing of the material base, the speeding up of the process of re-equipment, and also phenomena generated by the employees' ever poorer performance were approached.

By the opinion of most of the workers with whom the president discussed, worry and anxiety was expressed at the recent government measures of price liberalization.

President Iliescu was invited to refer to the severe criticism leveled at him. He said:

It is at least curious that the Antitotalitarian Forum accuses of communism those who have promoted a policy of liquidation of totalitarianism in Romania and do the most in order to put an end to totalitarianism and find the path to democracy, those who have assumed the political responsibility in everything they have done after December 22. There was a popular poll that sanctioned a certain state of affairs in this country, a precise mandate for two years—tough years—in which we have to rally the country's forces in order to live through this difficult period. The political reason ought to lead us all, irrespective of options, to seeking out the ways to collaborate, even with an active criticism, constructive though, from all parties, in order to crystallize and render efficient this union of the forces toward the supreme national commands. I do not think as normal the insistence in obstructing the actions of this government which has to cope with such big problems, and the institutional forms—the Parliament, the presidency—called upon to rally the national efforts toward settling the complicated issues of these days—the drafting of the constitution, the renewal of the legislation, the sustaining of the economic reforms, the settlement of the people's complex issues.

Teachers Demonstrate for Higher Pay, Pensions

AU0511212790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1915 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 5/11/1990—About 400 teachers, members of the Pre-University Education Union, demonstrated on Monday in front of the Ministry of Education and Science, manifesting their disapproval of the ministry's activity, and expressing their discontent with the unsatisfactory conditions provided for education. They requested the pay they have been frustrated of over 1986-1989, the updating of their salaries, increase in pensions, pay for all activities exceeding the didactic norm, indemnification for additional activities, improvement of the existing equipment, the building of new schools, exclusion of the inspectors who compromised themselves in the former regime.

Agreement Reached Between Baia Mare Bishoprics

AU0311175990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1700 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/11/1990—A dialogue was held Saturday 3 November at Baia Mare between a Parliamentary Commission and representatives of the Orthodox Bishopric of Maramures and of the Uniate Greek-Catholic Bishopric.

An agreement was concluded that makes provision for alternating religious services to be held in the same church. The alternating service of the two churches shall take effect on 18 November.

The agreement holds until competent bodies will settle the problem of the Uniate Greek-Catholic Church property.

Parishioners Displeased

AU0411161990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1504 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/11/1990—After an agreement was signed, Saturday 3 November at Baia Mare, between the delegations of Baia Mare is Orthodox Parish Council 1 and Greek-Catholic Parish Council 11 in the presence of a Romanian Parliamentary Commission, regulating the service of the two churches in the city of Baia Mare, several Greek Catholic believers from various places of the county of Maramures refused to leave the prefecture building saying the agreement failed to solve their problem. [sentence as received]

To defuse tension in the Maramures Diocese, its parishioners urge the government to submit to Parliament within five days an amendment to Decree-Law No. 126/1990 providing "for the restoration to Uniate Church ownership all its places of worship and their parish houses as on 1 December 1948."

In the places where there is only one Romanian place of worship administered by the Orthodox Church, the religious service will alternate until a new church is built with state aid. Furthermore, before this amendment is passed, the cathedral in Baia Mare and two churches at Satu Mare and Sighetu Marmatiei are claimed back by the Greek-Catholic Church of the Maramures Diocese.

Assembly Denounces U.S. State Department Remarks

LD0511191490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1814 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Nov (TANJUG)—The indignation of the Yugoslav public against a recent statement by the U.S. State Department prescribing the criteria for democratic multiparty elections in some Yugoslav republics has today communicated itself to the Federal Assembly. At its session today, the foreign policy committee of the assembly of Yugoslavia's federal chamber upheld the Foreign Ministry's assessment made on behalf of the federal government that the State Department's statement was out of place and harmful. The statement triggered off a host of delegate questions put in the foreign policy committee to Deputy Foreign Secretary Milivoj Maksic. Maksic reiterated the official Yugoslav attitude to this affair and said that the Yugoslav ambassador in Washington had recently handed in a note of protest to the U.S. Administration. The note says that the statement in connection with elections in Yugoslavia offends the dignity of the Yugoslavs and fans the passions of extremists in the country.

"We hope that the statement will remain no more than an unpleasant episode in Yugoslav-U.S. relations," Deputy Foreign Minister Maksic said.

The statement, released by the U.S. State Department, said one of the delegates to the committee, has given rise to rumours and speculations that Washington will be asked to recall its ambassador in Belgrade. In this connection, Milivoj Maksic said that the Yugoslav "government had no intention of broaching the question of withdrawal of any one of the foreign ambassadors, including the U.S. ambassador."

Loncar To Visit Iraq, Seek Peaceful Settlement

LD0511183990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1714 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Nov (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar will soon visit Baghdad to contribute towards efforts at finding a peaceful settlement of the crisis, Deputy Foreign Secretary Milivoj Maksic told the session of a parliamentary committee here on Monday.

Answering delegates' questions in the Federal Chamber's Foreign Policy Committee, Maksic said that Yugoslavia, as current chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, received the mandate at the recent nonaligned ministerial meeting to act towards a peaceful settlement of the crisis cause by Iraq's occupation of Kuwait.

Yugoslavia views the situation in the Gulf as "increasingly dramatic," said Maksic. In addition to visiting Baghdad, Loncar might also tour some othere capitals in the region in order to carry out the task entrusted to us, he added.

Jovic, Loncar Make First Official Visit to ROK

LD0611090590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0833 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Nov (TANJUG)—Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, left for Seoul today on a three-day official visit to the Republic of Korea. This is the first official visit to this country following the establishment of diplomatic relations last December and aims to strengthen all forms of bilateral cooperation, especially economic cooperation. Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, also departed with President Jovic.

Markovic on Economy, Push for Reform Alliance

LD0511224990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1329 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 5 Nov (TANJUG)—"The variety that characterizes our country and which is also, for the most part, its great treasure certainly leads to different and specific approaches to the implementation of reforms. It is impossible, though, to regard the reformist processses which are being carried out on the basis of uniform plans for the whole of Yugoslavia as being directed against one or another nation, against one or another republic." This is stressed in Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic's interview to the first issue of the Sarajevo-based "DAR" magazine, published by the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia [Savez Reformskih Snaga Yugoslavije—SRSJ] for Bosnia-Hercegovina.

I expected political resistance, Ante Markovic says, and to me there was nothing unexpected and unpredictable about that. The idea of setting up an alliance of Yugoslavia's reformist forces was elicited by the awareness that the more changes we apply to the system and the further we progress during the interim period the fiercer this resistance will become. I spoke about these predictions, that even [words indistinct] social problems with the political need to cling to power, at the beginning of my term of office when I delivered my first, may I say my inaugural, address to the federal Assembly.

I heralded then, Markovic resumed, that a time would come when all conservative and dogmatic forces, all separatist forces, all the forces sprouted by the true social discontent generated in this interim period—both the ultrarightist and untraleftist forces are included—will team up against the program of reforms and its bearers. The speed with which this has been happening testifies to the fact that the process of changes in our country is unfolding rapidly. Had it been slower this would have happened at a later stage.

In replying to a question from a "DAR" journalist on how he interprets citizens' rush to get ahold of foreign currency, Ante Markovic stressed that the political situation—significantly heated by the forthcoming multiparty elections—has stimulated this. A great deal of speculation, and numerous rumors of an imminent change in the exchange rate for the dinar and of the impossibility for savers to increase their foreign currency

savings, have also played their part. I maintain, Markovic said—and our foreign currency reserves are a guarantee of this—that individual banks are not fulfilling their obligations, either out of speculative motives or because of their dinar illiquidity. After all, if a bank has dinars, it can always purchase the necessary amount of foreign currency and in this way satisfy its savers.

Speaking about the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia, Ante Markovic pointed out that in campaigning for its own program it has no need to engage in underhand actions against some other parties. After all, the reformists do not need enemies—they do not need hatred or opponents in order to prove to them the correctness of their program. Opponents of the reformists, Markovic says, need both hatred and an enemy, because they cannot offer [word indistinct] except that.

The elections that have been carried out in Croatia and Slovenia have, although they were multiparty elections, not led to those changes which (?represent multiparty) parliamentary democracy.

Poll Outlines Party Affiliation in Republics

AU2810184590

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 22 October on page 5 carries a 3,000-word report on the results of BORBA'S public opinion poll on the citizens' party affiliation, entitled "The Undecided Will Decide the Elections."

According to the report, "BORBA's public opinion research center polled 600 people randomly selected from the telephone directories of 60 towns, that is, 10 people from ten towns from each of the six republics. The towns selected for the poll were: Belgrade, Kraljevo, Vranje, Novi Sad, Zajecar, Pristina, Kragujevac, Cacak, Subotica, and Pirot (Serbia); Ljubljana, Maribor, Celje, Murska Sobota, Novo Mesto, Nova Gorica, Postojna, Koper, Kranj, and Dravograd (Slovenia); Zagreb, Varazdin, Karlovac, Osijek, Vinkovci, Knin, Sibenik, Slavonski Brod, Rijeka, and Dubrovnik (Croatia); Sarajevo, Tuzla, Doboj, Prijedor, Banja Luka, Zenica, Trebinje, Bihac, Mostar, and Zenica [as published] (Bosnia-Hercegovina); Titograd, Niksic, Bar, Cetinje, Bijelo Polje, Ivangrad, Herceg Novi, Kotor, Danilovgrad, and Pljevlja (Montenegro); Skopje, Bitola, Strumica, Prilep, Kumanovo, Tetovo, Ohrid, Gevgelija, Kicevo, and Stip (Macedonia)."

The results of the poll are presented in one main table and two auxiliary tables which depict in detail the respondents' reasons for expressing the opinion they did.

The following are the results of the poll as presented in the main table:

Table 1. "Are you committed to any one particular political party?"

[figures in percentages]

Slovenia:	
Yes	79
-1. League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Reform	38
-2. Demos [United Opposition]	33
-3. SDS (Slovene Democratic Alliance or Social Democratic Alliance)	10
-4. Liberal Party	10
-5. Other parties	9
Total	100
No	20
Something else	1
Croatia:	
Yes	43
-1. Croatian Democratic Community	65
-2. League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Changes	24
-3. Serbian Democratic Party	5
-4. Other parties	6
Total	100
No	56
Something else	1
Bosnia-Hercegovina:	
Yes	25
-1. League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Socialist Democratic Party	52
-2. Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia	32
-3. Serbian Democratic Party	8
-4. Other parties	8
Total	100
No	75
Montenegro:	
Yes	16
-1.League of Communists	94
-2. Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia	6
Total	100
No	72
Something else	12

Serbia:	
Yes	37
-1. Socialist Party of Serbia	52
-2. Serbian Renewal Movement	11
-3. Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia	8
-4. Democratic Party	5
-5. Other parties	24
Total	100
No	63

Macedonia:	
Yes	27
-1. Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia	55
-2. League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation	33
-3. Other parties	12
Total	100
No	63
Something else	10

Croatia's Vrdoljak: We Will Have To Enter Knin

LD0511233190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2139 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Split, 5 Nov (TANJUG)—We will have to go into Knin. We have the power, the weapons, and the well-trained units for it. We will, however, enter the town when it suits us, said Antun Vrdoljak, vice president of Croatia, in Split this evening.

Speaking at a discussion at the Faculty of Law within the framework of the "Day of Croat University Students," Anton Vrdoljak said that what was waited for was the completion of elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina, due in 13 days' time despite efforts from all corners to prevent them from taking place.

Having voiced criticism of the Yugoslav People's Army, Vrdoljak said: I, personally, do not believe that the Army could stop democracy in Croatia, but I am not as naive as to consider it incapable of trying to do so. It should not be forgotten that it still includes all those forces which made the 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress end in disarray, said Antun Vrdoljak, vice president of Croatia, among other things.

Croat Authorities Ready for Talks With Serbia

LD0511213390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1947 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Zagreb, 5 Nov (TANJUG)—In keeping with the democratic achievements of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, Croatian authorities are ready to hold talks also with legitimate representatives of the Republic of Serbia, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said at a press conference in Croatia's [word indistinct] of Zagreb today.

Top Croatian officials briefed the press on solutions for the republic's political system. The draft republican constitution proceeds from civic sovereignty in which freedom, equal rights and national equality are guaranteed to all citizens of Croatia, it was heard in Zagreb today. In the new constitution, Croatia has opted for a semi-presidential system of executive power.

Since the multi-party elections of last spring in which communists lost power, the new [word indistinct] party in Croatia, Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) [HDZ], has been facing numerous problems concerning the position and rights of the 600,000-strong community of Christian Orthodox Serbs in the republic which has a population of 4.5 million. Serbs in Croatia are demanding cultural and territorial autonomy in case Yugoslavia becomes a confederation, under a proposal of the new Croatian authority.

Croatia still sees Yugoslavia's future as lying in a confederation. Croatian presidential advisor Slaven Letica today stressed there were many points of contact between the Slovenian and the Croatian concepts of Yugoslav confederation, as both were based on the same of civil law, state law and civilizational principles.

Serbian Voters Polled on Forthcoming Elections

LD0611133990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1239 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Nov (TANJUG)—Only 29 percent of voters in the Yugoslav republic Serbia feel that the first multi-party elections to be held in the republic on December 9 will be "completely fair," 31 percent are of the opinion that the elections will be "for the most part fair," 18 percent that they will be "rigged," and the remainder are undecided, as a public opinion poll has shown.

The results of the survey, which covered 1,400 pollees, are published in the Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI today. Around 60 political parties are participating in the election campaign in serbia.

The poll has shown that supporters of opposition parties mainly doubt the fairness of the upcoming elections, as opposed to the supporters of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia. As many as 55 percent of those who will cast their ballots for the largest opposition party, the Serbian Renewal Movement, do not think that the elections will be fair, whereas 62 percent of the supporters of the Socialist Party of Serbia are sure that the balloting will be "completely fair."

The poll has shown that the majority, or 88 percent of those who expect the elections to be "completely fair" will go to the polls, as will also 77 percent of the voters who feel that the elections will be "for the most part

fair." On the other hand, as many as 52 percent of those who doubt that the elections will be fair will not cast their ballots on December 9.

Serbian Democratic Party Seeks Autonomous Press

LD0611014690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2215 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Nov (TANJUG)—The media should be put out of service of any ideology or authorities, says a charter on autonomy of journalism presented by Democratic Party leaders at a press conference here on Monday.

In the document the Democrats, one of the opposition parties in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, undertook to urge the establishment of genuine autonomy in journalism, regardless of whether they would participate in government or remain in the opposition after the first postwar multiparty elections in Serbia set for December 9. They also called on all other political parties in the republic to assume the undertakings defined by the charter.

Emancipation of the media from all political pressures and blackmail and the ensurance of "material and spiritual independence of journalists" are "guarantees of Serbia's more secure transition to democracy," Democratic Party leaders said.

The party rallies mostly intellectuals, university professors, prominent writers and cultural workers, some of whom were in conflict with the authorities due to their writings or public statements under the communist one-party system in Yugoslavia.

Democratic Party leaders described today's interview with the newsmen as "first in a series" before the December 9 elections in Serbia.

Movement Appeal for Serb-Montenegrin Unification

LD0611144790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1309 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Nov (TANJUG)—The movement for the unification of Serbia and Montenegro on Tuesday [6 November] sent a public appeal to the Serbian and Montenegrin parliaments for a referendum on the unification of the two republics.

The parliaments were proposed that referendum on unification be held on November 26, i.e., on December 1, 1990. [sentence as received]

The unification of Serbia and Montenegro into a single state, with Belgrade as capital, and within a federative and democratic Yugoslavia, was the sole reason this movement was founded.

The appeal also stresses that the idea on the unification of Serbia and Montenegro was as old as the state of Serbia and Montenegro.

Serbia and Montenegro have until the end of the First World War been separate and independent states, unified in 1918 and thus entered Yugoslavia, which was formed on December 1, 1918. After World War Two they again became separate republics based on the decision of the Yugoslav war parliament—AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia].

The movement's public appeal sets out that the petition for a referendum on the unification has so far been signed by more than 10,000 people.

Vlasi on Proposed Retrial, Kosovo Economy

AU0611090490 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 31 Oct 90 pp 1, 4-5

[Blerim Reka report: "An Increasingly Destitute People"]

[Excerpts] Pristina, 30 Oct—The news conference held yesterday in Pristina by the 15 defendants of the notorious Titova Mitrovica trial was more than a response of those formerly accused to the warnings of a possible retrial on the basis of the appeal of the prosecutor of Vojvodina Supreme Court. Rather, this news conference cast light on many issues, and if a retrial is mounted in the highest court of Vojvodina, many new political scandals will emerge concerning familiar names in federal and republican politics who were directly implicated in this trial, and against whom criminal proceedings may even be initiated. As the leader of the news conference, Azem Vlasi, said at the start, the purpose of the news conference was to inform the Yugoslav and world public of some of their reactions to Serbia's highly intimidating warnings, whose sole purpose is to strike fear into the Albanian population. Commenting on the half-hour delay in opening the doors to the Kosovo Writers Association, where the news conference was to be held, Azem Vlasi said that one must also understand the position of the representatives of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, who do not wish to have problems with the state, with undesirable consequences, if they allow their premises to be used by those who have faced criminal charges.

Trial for a Crime Which Never Took Place!?

Azem Vlasi began by saying that according to legal principle, people are considered innocent until they are proven guilty. On the basis of this principle and the acquittal of Titova Mitrovica District Court, none of the 15 accused in the famous show trial has any need to complain about the verdict.

However, as is well known, the trial was held on the basis of a political charge and was inspired by political motives and goals. It is also well-known that the aim of the charges was to brand as crimes the protests of the Albanians in November 1988 and the strike of February

1989, and to identify those accused as the organizers of these events. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Prosecution of Bogdanovic, Mojsov, Culafic

Azem Vlasi warned at the press conference that if the appeal of the prosecutor of the Vojvodina Supreme Court is accepted, this will be a fresh chance for the former accused to cast light on certain circumstances relating to the show trial and to bring forward new evidence, citing specific names and dates, showing the involvement of several high officials in the federation and Serbia in the staging of the trial. He warned of laying charges against former Federal Internal Affairs Secretary Culafic, who misled the SFRY Presidency with false information concerning the political and security situation in Kosovo, thus deceiving the head of state; against Lazar Mojsov, who has not to this day submitted his proof of the existence of a so-called "staff of command" [Mojsov's assertion of the existence of an Albanian counterrevolutionary "staff of command" to the SFRY Assembly on 1 March 1989]; against Radmilo Bogdanovic, Serbian republican secretary for internal affairs, because of abuse of his office and authority; and against Jusuf Karakushi and Rajko Calovic, who attempted, together with the late Rahman Morina at Brezovica one month before the end of the trial, to persuade Ismet Emra to sentence at least Azem Vlasi, the first accused. I have proof of all these things, and will submit them if a decision is made in favor of Vojvodina Supreme Court. [end of boxed passage]

Aziz Abrashi said that just as the Titova Mitrovica trial was ordered by the Serbian leadership, the retrial on the basis of the appeal of the Vojvodina prosecutor is likewise a new order of the Serbian leadership. Burhan Kavaja [former director of Trepca Combine], after saying that the Albanians have been used to such repression since the start of the century, went on to reject as outright lies the statements of the imposed management at Trepca claiming that production is running smoothly. As he said, 800,000 tonnes of ore were produced when Stari Trg employed 3,000 Albanian, Turkish, Muslim, and Romany workers, who have now been dismissed, and now 390 miners and other workers under the Serbian and Montenegrin regime do not even produce 50,000 tonnes! He added that Serbia could buy lead and zinc on world markets more cheaply, at even a tenth of the price it costs to sustain production in this way, by pouring away enormous sums. If the Serbian people knew how much the enforced maintenance of production for political reasons costs Trepca, they themselves would rise against the current Serbian leadership. He supplied journalists with data and lists of the names of 280 Albanian, Turkish, Muslim, and Romany workers who have been dismissed from work without even being paid their wages for their last four months of work, as well as a list of 390 Serbian and Montenegrin workers who are receiving inflated wage packets! On this basis, the Albanian workers are owed about 120 million convertible dinars. The miners themselves asked for part of this debt (about 60 million dinars) to be paid in the form of shares in Trepca, but the enforced management refused to allow this, thus breaking federal law, which permits this possibility.

Lazer Krasniqi also showed how electricity production at Elektrokosova fell to 40 percent of its former level following the imposition of the temporary measures, while receipts fell by 30 percent. In spite of this, Serbian and Montenegrin workers are receiving wages of more than 1,000 Deutsche mark, while Albanians are not even receiving 300 Deutsche mark, which is truly beyond the bounds of reason. Even though I am not prevented by any court order from returning to my work as general director, I have not been allowed to go back to work to this day. Mursel Haziri meanwhile said that the aim of delegating our criminal case to the Vojvodina Supreme Court is to destroy the Kosovo Supreme Court.

There is probably some truth in this, when it is well known that this court has many times issued verdicts purely on the basis of the law, and not at the dictation of the politics of the day. As the lawyer Fazli Balaj also said, there is no Albanian judge left in Kosovo who will sign verdicts like blank checks, as the politics of the day demand.

This probably also explains the release from detention of the four Albanian delegates to the Kosovo Assembly and the release at the end of last week of Zenun Celaj, RILINDJA journalist and secretary of the Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms.

Even Serbian Cadres Have Begun To Flee the Shock Absorber Factory

The following examples show that the politics of the day have not only buried Trepca and Elektrokosova, the giants of the Kosovo economy, but other distinguished Kosovo collectives. After the devastation of the Urosevac Tube Factory, temporary measures have virtually halted production at the Tefik Canga Wood Combine, the tool shop of the Electric Switchgear Factory, and the same is now expected at the Bosko Cakic enterprise in Urosevac. When one knows that about 4,000 mainly Albanian workers have been dismissed, out of a total of 5,000 employed in the Urosevac economy, it can be imagined what can be expected from such temporary measures on the part of Serbia. The communal administration in Urosevac has now been ethnically purged, as recently also took place in Dragas and Vitina. After the dismissal from work of 230 Albanian employees of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs' Security Center in Urosevac, 130 employees of the Urosevac Communal Assembly were also dismissed! When one is also aware that 250 private tradesmen in Urosevac have been banned from working, and that they support at least 1,000 members of their families, it can be freely said that Urosevac is utterly destitute.

There have also been ethnic purges in other communes, a typical example being the recent dismissal of 81 Albanian employees from the Secretariat for Internal Affairs' Security Center in Pristina. These mainly included chiefs, secretaries, and other employees with special responsibilities.

Because of such policies, the Kosovo B power station is now facing closure after the dismissal of 2,100 Albanian workers from the Belacevac open-cast mine and the exhaustion of winter reserves of coal. Meanwhile, at the Shock Absorber Factory, even Serbian circles are talking volubly about collapse and the possibility of closing the factory. This organization never incurred a loss until the imposition of temporary measures on 27 July, while now it is doubtful whether it will be able to continue production. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Campaign Said Normal Despite Serb Moves

AU0511202590 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 2 Nov 90 pp 4-5

[Blerim Reka report: "National Differentiation Takes Shape"]

[Excerpts] Pristina, 1 Nov—It may seem a paradox, but in spite of increased repression by the Serbian state against everything Albanian, electoral activity is proceeding normally in Kosovo, at least for the assembly of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [DSK], which is expected to be held on 10 November. After electoral meetings at DSK communal branches, electoral meetings of DSK branches have also been held recently in Kosovo Polje, Stimlje, Strpca, and Podujevo, which almost completes the electoral work of this Kosovo political party. Apart from elections of this kind within the party, it is true that there is at the moment little likelihood of free elections for the Kosovo Assembly being held soon. Moreover, no positive move for the revival of the Kosovo Assembly, the Executive Council, the provincial authorities, Pristina Radio and Television, and RILINDJA is expected at least until the holding of elections in Serbia at the beginning of December.

Meanwhile, the protests and reactions of citizens, local independent trade unions, and branches of opposition parties continue throughout Kosovo. Their common denominator is a demand for the return of constitutionality to Kosovo and for the legal functioning of the highest Kosovo authorities and the Albanian-language media.

Raids in Urosevac, Mitrovica

Despite plebiscitary demands for an end to such things and the demand of the highest federal organs for respect for the Constitution and the law throughout the country, police repression against innocent Albanian citizens have not only not ended, but are increasing. After the campaign of the Serbian militia "to collect weapons" in the villages of Greme and Baliq in the commune of Urosevac, the houses of Hajredin, Hilmi, and Ismail Hysenaj in Nerodime e Poshtme were raided. At about 0600, before they were awake, the Hysenaj families were roused by gunshots accompanied by kicks at their front gates. The aim of this police campaign, as members of the families said, was to search for arms. Finding none, the militiamen took a box inscribed "Kosovo—Republic." The militia took away Ramiz Hysenaj, a former worker of the Tefik Canga Wood Combine, and manhandled and beat him for four hours on end at the militia station, after which he needed medical treatment.

There were also raids in Titova Mitrovica yesterday, where militiamen surrounded the houses of Hasan and Fadil Zhegolli from Stari Trg at about 1300. The militiamen broke and destroyed floorboards and furniture in their search for weapons. In the course of this raid, finding no weapons, the militiamen tore sacks of flour and poured out the contents, while on leaving Fadil Zhegolli's house they took a woman's wristwatch and a liter of brandy.

Besides their raids, the police have also helped in the forcible dismissal of Albanian workers from their jobs. At Elektrokosova at Djakovica today, after the arbitrary removal of the director, secretary, and nine other managers, two other workers were removed by force, while the imposed director Dragan Isailovic immediately hired 15 Serbian and Montenegrin workers with no competing candidates. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Appeal of the Democratic Alliance of Youth—Stay and Do Not Emigrate

Albanian young people from Kosovo have recently been emigrating on a large scale to various countries in Western Europe. This phenomenon is assuming increasingly larger proportions, and therefore causes great concern. The mere fact that a considerable number of people, primarily young people, are leaving Kosovo every week (about 1,000) shows a bitter aspect of reality in Kosovo. This emigration has become particularly marked in the last two months, when Kosovo has been the scene of the devastation of the economy and the permanent dismissal of Albanians from work. Young Albanians are driven to such a step by the need to ensure a minimum subsistence level for their families. The situation in Kosovo with its greater sense of insecurity and tension among the Albanians than ever before has no doubt made this trend more "popular." The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo Youth appeals to young people not to leave their homes and to remain here, the appeal states.

Communists Claim They Will Win Bosnian Elections

LD0511222590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2140 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Nov (TANJUG)—Leaders of the League of Communists-Socialist Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina have stated they are sure to win the multiparty elections in this Yoguslav Republic set for November 18.

They told a press conference here on Monday that the pre-election polls in Bosnia-Hercegovina have shown the Communists to enjoy a larger measure of support than the three national parties—the Serbian Democratic Party, the Croatian Democratic Union and the Democratic Action Party (which rallies Muslims)—put together.

They described as "undefined" the identity of Prime Minister Markovic's Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia, which will also run in the elections.

If the reformists win the elections in multinational Bosnia-Hercegovina, they would win those throughout the country, Markovic stated at a time. What he had in mind was the fact that 39 per cent of the Republic's population are Muslims, 33 Serbs and 18 per cent croats.

The leaders of Bosnia-Hercegovina Communists today repeated their already announced option for a democratic federation. They described confederation as unacceptable since it would, "in keeping with the well-known aspirations of so-called greater-nation states, open the question of existence of Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Slovene Vice President Views New Constitution

AU0511125790 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 5 Nov 90 p 10

[Interview with Slovene Vice President Ivan Oman by Michael Reichel; place and date not given: "We Yugoslavs Must Arrive at an Agreement"]

[Excerpt] The multinational state of Yugoslavia has often been described as a living corpse. Ivan Oman, the founder and president of the Slovene Peasants' Alliance, which acts as a party and a trade union, is the vice president of the northernmost Yugoslav republic. How does he assess the demands of Slovene politicians for secession, which are put forward nearly every day?

[Oman] I think it would be better if Slovenia continued to remain linked with Yugoslavia. However, we will not accept one thing: That our country remains as it is—formally a federative but really a socialist and centralist state that does not even exist on paper any more.

[Reichel] Slovenia has placed its own Constitution above the Yugoslav Constitution in many points this year and wants to draft a new constitution now. When will it be adopted by parliament?

[Oman] It should be discussed in public until the end of November. It is impossible to predict what the parliamentary debates will be like. In any case, they will be tough.

[Reichel] Will the three chambers of the current parliament, a living relic of the Tito state, be retained under the new constitution?

[Oman] We are discussing a parliament with two chambers. The so-called Chamber of United Work, in which delegates of the self-managed enterprises are represented, will be abolished.

If the three chambers should be reduced to one single chamber, this chamber will be strongly regional.

The authors of the new constitution have taken the German and Italian Constitutions as models. The main points of emphasis are general human rights and the minimal restriction of the rights of man. In addition, the Constitution will interfere as little as possible with the economy.

[Reichel] Serbia has imposed duties and fees on goods from Slovenia....

[Oman] This is to Serbia's own disadvantage. Slovenia delivers a great deal of semifinished products to Serbia, mainly for the automobile industry.

[Reichel] Slovenia's policy toward Belgrade looks like salami tactics. A law here and a law there—Yugoslavia is transformed into a chimera by decrees as it were.

[Oman] Everybody is doing that! The Serbs, the Slovenes—everybody. This happens all the time. One law after another is adopted. I am not happy about this development because we should know that we cannot build our lives on ideas. It did not even work when a nation was born out of an idea, as happened with the creation of Yugoslavia. Only the economy guarantees life.

We should make efforts now to enlarge our market. We Yugoslavs should arrive at an agreement on what we have in common and on what every individual republic should regulate. The recipe is very simple: One must act in a sober and rational manner, without euphoria. One should simply use one's common sense. However, now there is talk of secession in Serbia as well. I think one should not take too hasty measures in this direction.

[Reichel] Slovene's has a president—the former communist Milan Kucan—and four vice presidents. What is your function in this collective Presidency?

[Oman] The strange thing is that our powers are greater than those of presidents in democratic states. Nothing can be done in Slovenia without our consent. However, we do not essentially interfere with the competences and the work of parliament. I am responsible for agrarian issues, and I am also some sort of ombudsman.

The new constitution will provide for only one president with much smaller powers. [passage omitted]

Macedonian Council Assails Draskovic Speech

LD0511201690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1741 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Skopje, 5 Nov (TANJUG)—The Macedonian Executive Council today sent a request to the Federal Executive Council to take all the necessary measures to implement the Constitution and federal regulations, it was anounced today.

The statement goes on to stress that the latest speech by Vuk Draskovic calls for and encourages the use of force or some other illegal act so as to change the borders between the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Serbia. This would mean that part of the territory of Macedonia would belong to Serbia, and part to some other neighboring state.

The Macedonian Executive Council believes that several criminal acts have therefore been committed. These threaten territorial integrity, provoke ethnic, racial, and religious hatred between the peoples of the SFRY, and insult the reputation of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. As a result, the statement says, the Macedonian Executive Council believes that the competent federal and republican organs are duty-bound to take all the measures of the rule-of-law state so as to eliminate phenomena which are dangerous to society and cause alarm among the public.

Poll on Most Popular Politicians in Macedonia

AU0611125890

[Editorial Report] Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian on 31 October on page 3 carries an approximately 2,500-word report on the results of NOVA MAKEDONIJA's public opinion poll on the most popular politicians in Macedonia, entitled "Every Second for Tupurkovski."

NOVA MAKEDONIJA polled 619 people "from all communes in Macedonia," but does not provide any other information as to how the poll was conducted.

The results of the poll are summarized in a bar chart as follows:

Table 1. "Which politician in Macedonia do you respect most?"

[figures in percentages]	
1. Vasil Tupurkovski	43.46
2. Petar Gosev	14.05
3. Stojan Andov	7.11
4. Kiro Gligorov	6.62
5. Others	10.35
6. None	8.72
7. Do not know	9.69